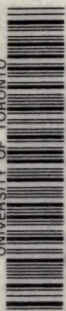


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THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS  
IN  
E N G L A N D,  
TO WHICH IS ADDED  
AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND,  
BY  
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

VOL. II. PART I.

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OXFORD,  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.  
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TO  
THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

TO your Majesty is most humbly dedicated this Second Part of the *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, written by Edward Earl of Clarendon. For to whom so naturally can the works of this Author, treating of the times of your royal grandfather, be addressed, as to yourself; now wearing, with lustre and glory, that crown, which, in those unhappy days, was treated with so much contempt and barbarity, and laid low even to the dust?

This Second Part comes with the greater confidence into your presence, by the advantage of the favourable reception the First hath met with in the world; since it is not to be doubted, but the same truth, fairness, and impartiality, that will be found throughout the whole thread of the History, will meet with the same candour from all equal judges.

It is true, some few persons, whose ancestors are here found not to have had that part during their lives which would have been more agreeable to the wishes of their surviving posterity, have been offended at some particulars, mentioned in this His-

tory, concerning so near relations, and would have them pass for mistaken informations. But it is to be hoped, that such a concern of kindred for their families, though not blameable in them, will rather appear partial on their side; since it cannot be doubted, but this Author must have had his materials from undeniable and unexceptionable hands, and could have no temptation to insert any thing but the truth in a work of this nature, which was designed to remain to posterity, as a faithful record of things and persons in those times, and of his own unquestionable sincerity in the representation of them.

In this assurance it is humbly hoped, it will not be unprofitable to your Majesty to be here informed of the fatal and undeserved misfortunes of one of your ancestors, with the particular and sad occasions of them; the better to direct your royal person through the continual uncertainties of the greatness of this world. And as your Majesty cannot have a better guide, throughout the whole course of your reign, for the good administration of your government, than history in general, so there cannot be a more useful one to your Majesty than this of your own kingdoms; and it is presumed, without lying under the imputation of misleading your Majesty, it may be asserted, that no author could have been better instructed, and have known more of the times and matters of which he writes, than this who is here presented to you.

Your Majesty may depend upon his relations to



be true in fact; and you will find his observations just; his reflections made with judgment and weight; and his advices given upon wise and honest principles; not capable of being now interpreted as subservient to any ambition or interest of his own; and having now outlived the prejudices and partialities of the times in which they were written. And your Majesty thus elevated, as by God's blessing you are, from whom a great many truths may be industriously concealed, and on whom a great many wrong notions under false colours may with equal care be obtruded, will have the greater advantage from this faithful remembrancer.

This Author, once a privy counsellor and minister to two great Kings, and, in a good degree, favourite to one of them, hath some pretence to be admitted into your Majesty's Council too, and may become capable of doing you service also; whilst the accounts he gives of times past, come seasonably to guide you through the times present, and those to come.

This History may lie upon your table unenvied, and your Majesty may pass hours and days in the perusal of it, when, possibly, they who shall be the most useful in your service, may be reflected on for aiming too much at influencing your actions, and engrossing your time.

From this History your Majesty may come to know more of the nature and temper of your own people, than hath yet been observed by any other



hand. Neither can any living conversation lay before your Majesty in one view, so many transactions necessary for your observation. And seeing no Prince can be endued in a moment with a perfect experience in the conduct of affairs, whatever knowledge may be useful to your Majesty's government, if it may have been concealed from you in the circumstances of your private life, in this History it may be the most effectually supplied; where your Majesty will find the true constitution of your government, both in Church and State, plainly laid before you, as well as the mistakes that were committed in the management of both.

Here your Majesty will see how both those interests are inseparable, and ought to be preserved so, and how fatal it hath proved to both, whenever, by the artifice and malice of wicked and self-designing men, they have happened to be divided. And though your Majesty will see here, how a great King lost his kingdoms, and at last his life, in the defence of this Church, you will discern too, that it was by men who were no better friends to monarchy than to true religion, that his calamities were brought upon him; and as it was the method of those men to take exceptions first to the ceremonies and outward order of the Church, that they might attack her the more surely in her very being and foundation, so they could not destroy the State, which they chiefly designed, till they had first overturned the Church. And a



truth it is which cannot be controverted, that the monarchy of England is not now capable of being supported, but upon the principles of the Church of England; from whence it will be very natural to conclude, that the preserving them both firmly united together is the likeliest way for your Majesty to reign happily over your subjects.

The religion by law established is such a vital part of the government, so constantly woven and mixed into every branch of it, that generally men look upon it as a good part of their property too; since that, and the government of the Church, is secured to them by the same provision. So that it seems that, next to treason against your sacred person, an invasion upon the Church ought to be watched and prevented by those who have the honour to be trusted in the public administration, with the strictest care and diligence, as the best way to preserve your person and government in their just dignity and authority.

Amongst all the observations, that may be made out of this History, there seems none more melancholic, than that, after so much misery and desolation brought upon these kingdoms by that unnatural civil war, which hath yet left so many deep and lamentable marks of its rage and fury, there have hitherto appeared so few signs of repentance and reformation.

Some persons will see, they are designed to be excepted out of this remark, whose conduct hath happily made amends for the mistakes of their an-

cestors, and whose practice in the stations they are now in does sufficiently distinguish them. Happy were it for the nation, had all the rest thought fit to follow so good examples, and that either acts of indemnity and oblivion, or acts of grace and favour, or employments of authority, riches, and honour, had hitherto been able to recover many of them to the temper of good subjects. The truth of this observation is set forth by this Author in so lively a manner, that one hath frequent occasions to look on him as a prophet as well as an historian, in several particulars mentioned in this book.

That this remark may not look froward or angry, with great submission to your Majesty, it may be considered, what can be the meaning of the several seminaries, and as it were universities, set up in divers parts of the kingdom, by more than ordinary industry, contrary to law, supported by large contributions; where the youth is bred up in principles directly contrary to monarchical and episcopal government? What can be the meaning of the constant solemnizing by some men the anniversary of that dismal thirtieth of January, in scandalous and opprobrious feasting and jesting, which the law of the land hath commanded to be perpetually observed in fasting and humiliation? If no sober man can say any thing in the defence of such actions, so destructive to the very essence of the government, and yet impossible to be conducted without much consultation and

advice, it is hoped this reflection will not be thought to have proceeded from an uncharitable and ill-natured spirit, but from a dutiful and tender regard to the good of the nation, and the prosperity of your Majesty's reign.

In the mean time, whether this does not look like an industrious propagation of the rebellious principles of the last age, and on that score render it necessary that your Majesty should have an eye toward such unaccountable proceedings, is humbly submitted to your Majesty ; who will make a better judgment upon the whole than any others can suggest to you : you have a greater interest to do it ; you have much more to preserve, and much more to lose ; you have the happiness of your kingdoms, your crown, and your government to secure, in a time of as great difficulties, as ever were yet known, under a very expensive war at present, and some circumstances attending it in relation to these nations, that may continue even after a peace ; besides the danger of a future separation of the two kingdoms, very uncomfortable to reflect on ; which yet, in all probability, will have influence upon the present times too, if it comes once to be thought that it is inevitable.

God give your Majesty a safe and prosperous passage through so many appearances of hazard ; you can never want undertakers of divers sorts, who, according to their several politics, will warrant you success if you will trust them : but your real happiness will very much depend upon your-



self, and your choosing to honour with your service such persons as are honest, stout, and wise.

If informations of times past may be useful, this Author will deserve a share of credit with you, whose reputation and experience were so great in his lifetime, that they will be recorded in times to come for the real services he did, besides the honour, and great fortune, unusual to a subject, of having been grandfather to two great Queens, your royal sister and yourself; both so well beloved and esteemed by your people; both so willing and zealous to do good. Her power indeed was more limited and dependent; but her early death made room for your Majesty's more unrestrained and sovereign authority, and resigned to yourself alone the more lasting dispensation of those blessings that came from Heaven to you both.

If the benefit your Majesty may reap by the perusal of this History, shall prove serviceable to after-times, it will be remembered to the praise and honour of his name; and your Majesty yourself will not be displeased to allow his memory a share of that advantage; nor be offended with being put in mind, that your English heart, so happily owned by yourself, and adored by your subjects, had not been so *entirely* English, without a communication with his heart too, than which there never was one more devoted to the good of his country, and the firm establishment of the Crown.

It being designed by this Dedication only to in-



troduce this noble Author into your presence, it would be contrary to the intention of it to take up more of your Majesty's time here ; it is best therefore to leave this faithful counsellor alone with you. For God's sake, Madam, and your own, be pleased to read him with attention, and serious and frequent reflections ; and from thence, in conjunction with your own heart, prescribe to yourself the methods of true and lasting greatness, and the solid maxims of a Sovereign truly English: that during this life you may exceed in felicities and fame, and after this life, in reputation and esteem, that glorious predecessor of your Majesty's, the renowned first *Semper Eadem*, whose motto you have chosen, and whose pattern you seem to have taken for your great example, to your own immortal glory, and the defence, security, and prosperity of the kingdoms you govern.

And God grant you may do so long.

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The first settlement in the city of Boston was made in 1630 by a group of Puritan ministers and laymen who had fled from the religious persecution in England. They were led by John Winthrop, who gave them the name of the "City upon a Hill". The settlement was founded on the site of the present city, and it grew rapidly. In 1639, the first town meeting was held, and in 1644, the first city charter was granted. The city continued to grow, and in 1692, it was incorporated as a city. The city was the center of the Puritan movement in New England, and it played a leading role in the American Revolution. In 1780, the city was the site of the Battle of the Clouds, and in 1789, it was the site of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The city continued to grow, and in 1822, it was incorporated as a city. The city was the center of the Industrial Revolution in New England, and it played a leading role in the American Civil War. In 1864, the city was the site of the Battle of the Clouds, and in 1869, it was the site of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The city continued to grow, and in 1922, it was incorporated as a city. The city was the center of the Industrial Revolution in New England, and it played a leading role in the American Civil War. In 1964, the city was the site of the Battle of the Clouds, and in 1969, it was the site of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The city continued to grow, and in 2022, it was incorporated as a city.

The city of Boston has a rich and varied history. It was founded in 1630 by a group of Puritan ministers and laymen who had fled from the religious persecution in England. The settlement was founded on the site of the present city, and it grew rapidly. In 1639, the first town meeting was held, and in 1644, the first city charter was granted. The city continued to grow, and in 1692, it was incorporated as a city. The city was the center of the Puritan movement in New England, and it played a leading role in the American Revolution. In 1780, the city was the site of the Battle of the Clouds, and in 1789, it was the site of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The city continued to grow, and in 1822, it was incorporated as a city. The city was the center of the Industrial Revolution in New England, and it played a leading role in the American Civil War. In 1864, the city was the site of the Battle of the Clouds, and in 1869, it was the site of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The city continued to grow, and in 1922, it was incorporated as a city. The city was the center of the Industrial Revolution in New England, and it played a leading role in the American Civil War. In 1964, the city was the site of the Battle of the Clouds, and in 1969, it was the site of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The city continued to grow, and in 2022, it was incorporated as a city.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION, &c.

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BOOK VI.

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ISA. xviii. 2.

*Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled.*

ISA. xix. 13, 14.

*The Princes of Zoan are become fools.*

*The Lord hath mingled a perverse spirit in the midst thereof.*

---

WHEN the King set up his standard at Nottingham, which was on the 25th of August, as is before remem-  
bered, he found the place much emptier than he thought the fame of his standard would have suffered it to be; and received intelligence the next day, that the rebels' army, for such now he had declared them, was horse, foot, and cannon, at Northampton; besides that party which, in the end of the fifth Book, we left at Coventry: whereas his few cannon and ammunition were still at York, being neither yet in an equipage to march, though Sir John Heydon, his Majesty's faithful Lieutenant of the Ordnance, used all possible diligence to form and prepare it;

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The King's  
condition  
at Notting-  
ham.



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VI.

neither were there foot enough levied to guard it: and at Nottingham, besides some few of the Trained Bands, which Sir John Digby, the active Sheriff of that county, drew into the old ruinous castle there, there were not of foot levied for the service yet three hundred men. So that they who were not overmuch given to fear, finding very many places in that great river, which was looked upon as the only strength and security of the town, to be easily fordable, and nothing towards an army for defence but the standard set up, begun sadly to apprehend the danger of the King's own person. Insomuch that Sir Jacob Ashley, his Serjeant-Major-General of his intended army, told him, "that he could not give any assurance against his Majesty's being taken out of his bed, if the rebels "should make a brisk attempt to that purpose." And it was evident, all the strength he had to depend upon was his horse, which were under the command of Prince Rupert at Leicester, and were not at that time in number above eight hundred, few better armed than with swords; whilst the enemy had, within less than twenty miles of that place, double the number of horse excellently armed and appointed, and a body of five thousand foot well trained and disciplined; so that, no doubt, if they had advanced, they might at least have dispersed those few troops of the King's, and driven his Majesty to a greater distance, and exposed him to notable hazards and inconveniencies.

Ports-  
mouth be-  
sieged by  
the Parlia-  
ment's  
forces.

When men were almost confounded with this prospect, his Majesty received intelligence, that Portsmouth was so straitly besieged by sea and land, that it would be reduced in very few days, except it were relieved. For the truth is, Colonel Goring, though he had sufficient warning, and sufficient supplies of money to put that place into a posture, had relied too much upon probable and casual assistance, and neglected to do that himself, which a vigilant officer would have done: and albeit his chief dependence was both for money and provisions from the Isle of Wight, yet he was careless to secure those small castles and block-houses, that guarded the passage; which revolting to the

Parliament as soon as he declared for the King, cut off all those dependences; so that he had neither men enough to do ordinary duty, nor provisions enough for those few, for any considerable time. And at the same time with this news of Portsmouth, arrived certain advertisements, that the Marquis of Hertford, and all his forces in the west, from whom only the King hoped that Portsmouth should be relieved, was driven out of Somersetshire, where his power and interest was believed unquestionable, into Dorsetshire; and there besieged in Sherborne Castle.

The Marquis, after he left the King at Beverley, by ordinary journeys, and without making any long stay by the way, came to Bath, upon the very edge of Somersetshire, at the time when the general assizes were there held; where meeting all the considerable gentlemen of that great county, and finding them well affected to the King's service, except very few who were sufficiently known, he entered into consultation with them from whom he was to expect assistance, in what place he should most conveniently fix himself for the better disposing the affections of the people, and to raise a strength for the resistance of any attempt which the Parliament might make, either against them, or to disturb the peace of the country by their ordinance of the militia, which was the first power they were like to hear of. Some were of opinion, "that Bristol would be the fittest place, being a great, rich, and populous city; of which being once possessed, they should be easily able to give the law to Somerset and Gloucestershire; and could not receive any affront by a sudden or tumultuary insurrection of the people." And if this advice had been followed, it would probably have proved very prosperous. But, on the contrary, it was objected, "that it was not evident, that his Lordship's reception into the city would be such as was expected; Mr. Hollis being Lieutenant thereof, and having exercised the militia there; and there being visibly many disaffected people in it, and some of eminent quality; and if he should attempt to go thither, and be disappointed, it

The Marquis of Hertford's actions in Somersetshire, &c.



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“ would break the whole design: then that it was out of  
“ the county of Somerset, and therefore that they could  
“ not legally draw that people thither; besides, that it  
“ would look like fear and suspicion of their own power,  
“ to put themselves into a walled town, as if they feared  
“ the power of the other party would be able to oppress  
“ them. Whereas, except Popham and Horner, all the  
“ gentlemen of eminent quality and fortune of Somerset-  
“ shire were either present with the Marquis, or presumed  
“ not to be inclined to the Parliament.” And therefore  
they proposed “ that Wells, being a pleasant city, in the  
“ heart and near the centre of that county, might be  
“ chosen for his Lordship’s residence.” Which was ac-  
cordingly agreed on, and thither the Marquis and his train  
went, sending for the nearest Trained Bands to appear  
before him; and presuming that in little time, by the in-  
dustry of the gentlemen present, and his Lordship’s repu-  
tation, which was very great, the affections of the people  
would be so much wrought upon, and their understandings  
so well informed, that it would not be in the power of the  
Parliament to pervert them, or to make ill impressions on  
them towards his Majesty’s service.

Whilst his Lordship in this gentle way endeavoured to  
compose the fears and apprehensions of the people, and  
by doing all things in a peaceable way, and according to  
the rules of the known laws, to convince all men of the  
justice and integrity of his Majesty’s proceedings and royal  
intentions; the other party, according to their usual confi-  
dence and activity, wrought underhand to persuade the  
people that the Marquis was come down to put the com-  
mission of array in execution, by which commission a great  
part of the estate of every farmer or substantial yeoman  
should be taken from them; alleging, that some Lords  
had said, “ that twenty pounds by the year was enough  
“ for every peasant to live on;” and so, taking advan-  
tage of the commission’s being in Latin, translated it into  
what English they pleased; persuading the substantial  
yeomen and freeholders, that at least two parts of their



estates would, by that commission, be taken from them; and the meaner and poorer sort of people, that they were to pay a tax for one day's labour in the week to the King; and that all should be, upon the matter, no better than slaves to the Lords, and that there was no way to free and preserve themselves from this insupportable tyranny, but by adhering to the Parliament, and submitting to the ordinance for the militia; which was purposely prepared to enable them to resist these horrid invasions of their liberties.

It cannot easily be believed, how these gross infusions generally prevailed. For though the gentlemen of ancient families and estates in that county were, for the most part, well affected to the King, and easily discerned by what faction the Parliament was governed; yet there were a people of an inferior degree, who, by good husbandry, clothing, and other thriving arts, had gotten very great fortunes; and, by degrees, getting themselves into the gentlemen's estates, were angry that they found not themselves in the same esteem and reputation with those whose estates they had; and therefore, with more industry than the other, studied all ways to make themselves considerable. These, from the beginning, were fast friends to the Parliament; and many of them were now intrusted by them as Deputy Lieutenants in their new ordinance of the militia, and having found when the people were ripe, gathered them together, with a purpose on a sudden, before there should be any suspicion, to surround and surprise the Marquis at Wells. For they had always this advantage of the King's party and his counsels, that their resolutions were no sooner published, than they were ready to be executed, there being an absolute implicit obedience in the inferior sort to those who were to command them; and their private agents, with admirable industry and secrecy, preparing all persons and things ready against a call. Whereas all the King's counsels were with great formality deliberated, before concluded: and then, with equal formality, and precise caution of the law, executed; there

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being no other way to weigh down the prejudice that was contracted against the Court, but by the most barefaced publishing all conclusions, and fitting them to that apparent justice and reason, that might prevail over the most ordinary understandings.

When the Marquis was thus in the midst of an enemy that almost covered the whole kingdom, his whole strength was a troop of horse, raised by Mr. John Digby, son to the Earl of Bristol, and another by Sir Francis Hawley, (both which were levied in those parts to attend the King in the north,) and a troop of horse, and a small troop of dragoons, raised and armed by Sir Ralph Hopton at his own charge; and about one hundred foot gathered up by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lunsford towards a regiment, which were likewise to have marched to the King. These, with the Lord Pawlet, and the gentlemen of the country, which were about eight and twenty of the prime quality there, with their servants and retinue, made up the Marquis's force. Then their proceedings were with that exceeding caution, that upon advertisement that the active ministers of the contrary party had appointed a general meeting at a town within few miles of Wells, Sir Ralph Hopton being advised with his small troop and some volunteer gentlemen to repair thither, and to disappoint that convention, and to take care that it might produce the least prejudice to the King's service; before he reached the place, those gentlemen who stayed behind (and by whose advice the Marquis thought it necessary absolutely to govern himself, that they might see all possible wariness was used in the entrance into a war, which being once entered into, he well knew must be carried on another way) sent him word, "that he should forbear any hostile act, otherwise they would disclaim whatsoever he should do." Whereas the courage and resolution of those few were such, and the cowardice of the undisciplined seditious rabble and their leaders was so eminent, that it was very probable, if those few troops had been as actively employed as their commanders desired, they might have been able to have driven the bigots



out of the country, before they had fully possessed the rest with their own rancour: which may be reasonably presumed by what followed shortly after, when Mr. Digby, Sir John Stawel and his sons, with some volunteer gentlemen, being in the whole not above fourscore horse, and fourteen dragoons, charged a greater body of horse, and above six hundred foot of the rebels, led by a Member of the House of Commons; and without the loss of one man; killed seven in the place, hurt very many, took their chief officers, and as many more prisoners as they would; and so routed the whole body, that six men kept not together, they having all thrown down their arms.

But this good fortune abated only the courage of those who had run away, the other making use of this overthrow as an argument of the Marquis's bloody purposes; and therefore, in few days, Sir John Horner and Alexander Popham, being the principal men of quality of that party in that county, with the assistance of their friends of Dorset, and Devon, and the city of Bristol, drew together a body of above twelve thousand men, horse and foot, with some pieces of cannon, with which they appeared on the top of the hill over Wells; where the Marquis, in contempt of them, stayed two days, having only barricadoed the town; but then, finding that the few Trained Bands, which attended him there, were run away, either to their own houses, or to their fellows, on the top of the hill; and hearing that more forces, or at least better officers, were coming from the Parliament against him, he retired in the noon day, and in the face of that rebellious herd from Wells to Somerton, and so to Sherborne, without any loss or trouble. Thither, within two days, came to his Lordship Sir John Berkley, Colonel Ashburnham, and some other good officers, enough to have formed a considerable army, if there had been no other want. But they had not been long there, (and it was not easy to resolve whither else to go, they having no reason to believe they should be any where more welcome than in Somersetshire, from whence they had been now driven,) when the Earl of

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Heratires  
to Sher-  
borne.



BOOK Bedford, General of the Horse to the Parliament, with  
VI. Mr. Hollis, Sir Walter Earl, and other Ephori, and a com-

The Earl of  
Bedford  
comes  
against  
him.

plete body of seven thousand foot at least, ordered by Charles Essex, their Serjeant-Major-General, a soldier of good experience and reputation in the Low Countries, and eight full troops of horse, under the command of Captain Pretty, with four pieces of cannon, in a very splendid equipage, came to Wells, and from thence to Sherborne. The Marquis, by this time having increased his foot to four hundred, with which that great army was kept from entering that town, and persuaded to encamp in the field about three quarters of a mile north from the castle; where, for the present, we must leave the Marquis and his great-spirited little army.

It could never be understood, why that army did not then march directly to Nottingham; which if it had done, his Majesty's few forces must immediately have been scattered, and himself fled, or put himself into their hands, which there were enough ready to have advised him to do; and if he had escaped, he might have been pursued by one regiment of horse till he had quitted the kingdom. But it pleased God, that they made not the least advance towards Nottingham. They about the King began now to wish that he had stayed at York, and proposed his return thither; but that was not hearkened to; and they who advised his stay there, and against the advance to Nottingham, were more against his return thither, as an absolute flight; but urged the advance of the levies, and a little patience, till it might be discerned what the enemy did intend to do. In

The King  
consults at  
Notting-  
ham of  
sending a  
message for  
peace.

this great anxiety, some of the Lords desired, "that his Majesty would send a message to the Parliament, with some overture to incline them to a treaty;" which proposition was no sooner made, but most concurred in it, and no one had the confidence to oppose it. The King himself was so offended at it, that he declared, "he would never yield to it;" and broke up the council, that it might be no longer urged. But the next day, when they met again, they renewed the same advice with more ear-

nestness. The Earl of Southampton, a person of great prudence, and of a reputation at least equal to any man's, pressed it, "as a thing that might do good, and could do no harm:" and the King's reasons, with reference to the insolence it would raise in the rebels, and the dishonour that would thereby reflect upon himself, were answered, by saying "their insolence would be for the King's advantage; and when they should reject the offer of peace, which they believed they would do, they would make themselves the more odious to the people, who would be thereby the more inclined to serve the King." So that they took it as granted, that the proposition would be rejected, and therefore it ought to be made. It was farther said, "that his Majesty was not able to make resistance; that the forces before Sherborne, Portsmouth, and at Northampton, were three several armies, the least of which would drive his Majesty out of his dominions; that it was only in his power to choose, whether, by making a fair offer himself, he would seem to make peace, which could not but render him very gracious to the people, or suffer himself to be taken prisoner, (which he would not long be able to avoid,) which would give his enemies power, reputation, and authority to proceed against his Majesty, and, it might be, his posterity, according to their own engaged malice."

Yet this motive made no impression in him. "For, he said, no misfortune, or ill success that might attend his endeavour of defending himself, could expose him to more inconveniences than a treaty at this time desired by him, where he must be understood to be willing to yield to whatsoever they would require of him: and how modest they were like to be, might be judged by their nineteen propositions, which were tendered, when their power could not be reasonably understood to be like so much to exceed his Majesty's, as at this time it was evident it did; and that, having now nothing to lose but his honour, he could be only excusable to the world,

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“ by using his industry to the last to oppose the torrent, which if it prevailed would overwhelm him.” This composed courage and magnanimity of his Majesty seemed too philosophical, and abstracted from the policy of self-preservation, to which most others were passionately addicted : and that which was the King’s greatest disadvantage, how many soever were of his mind, (as some few, and but few, there were,) no man durst publicly avow that he was so ; a treaty for peace being so popular a thing, that whosoever opposed it would be sure to be, by general consent, a declared enemy to his country.

That which prevailed with his Majesty very reasonably then to yield (and indeed it proved equally advantageous to him afterwards) was, “ that it was most probable” (and his whole fortune was to be submitted at best to probabilities) “ that, out of their pride, and contempt of the King’s weakness and want of power, the Parliament would refuse to treat ; which would be so unpopular a thing, that as his Majesty would highly oblige his people by making the offer, so they would lose the hearts of them by rejecting it ; which alone would raise an army for his Majesty. That if they should embrace it, the King could not but be a gainer ; for by the propositions which they should make to him, he would be able to state the quarrel so clearly, that it should be more demonstrable to the kingdom, than yet it was, that the war was, on his Majesty’s part, purely defensive ; since he never had, and now would not deny any thing, which they could in reason or justice ask : that this very overture would necessarily produce some pause, and delay in their preparations, or motions of their armies ; for some debate it must needs have ; and during that time, men’s minds would be in suspense ; whereas his Majesty should be so far from slackening his preparations, that he might be more vigorous in them, by hastening those levies, for which his commissions were out.” For these reasons, and almost the concurrent desire and importunity of his council, the King was prevailed with to send the Earls of



Southampton, and Dorset, Sir John Colepepper, Chancellor of his Exchequer, and Sir William Udall, (whom his Majesty gave leave under that pretence to intend the business of his own fortune,) to the two Houses with this message, which was sent the third day after his standard was set up.

“ We have, with unspeakable grief of heart, long beheld  
 “ the distractions of this our kingdom. Our very soul is  
 “ full of anguish, until we may find some remedy to pre-  
 “ vent the miseries which are ready to overwhelm this  
 “ whole nation by a civil war. And though all our endea-  
 “ vours, tending to the composing of those unhappy dif-  
 “ ferences betwixt us and our two Houses of Parliament,  
 “ (though pursued by us with all zeal and sincerity,) have  
 “ been hitherto without that success we hoped for; yet  
 “ such is our constant and earnest care to preserve the  
 “ public peace, that we shall not be discouraged from  
 “ using any expedient, which, by the blessing of the God  
 “ of mercy, may lay a firm foundation of peace and happi-  
 “ ness to all our good subjects. To this end, observing  
 “ that many mistakes have arisen by the messages, peti-  
 “ tions, and answers, betwixt us and our two Houses of  
 “ Parliament, which happily may be prevented by some  
 “ other way of treaty, wherein the matters in difference  
 “ may be more clearly understood, and more freely trans-  
 “ acted; we have thought fit to propound to you, that  
 “ some fit persons may be by you enabled to treat with  
 “ the like number to be authorized by us, in such a man-  
 “ ner, and with such freedom of debate, as may best tend  
 “ to that happy conclusion which all good men desire, the  
 “ peace of the kingdom. Wherein, as we promise, in the  
 “ word of a King, all safety and encouragement to such as  
 “ shall be sent unto us, if you shall choose the place where  
 “ we are, for the treaty, which we wholly leave to you,  
 “ presuming the like care of the safety of those we shall  
 “ employ, if you shall name another place; so we assure  
 “ you, and all our good subjects, that, to the best of our  
 “ understanding, nothing shall be therein wanting on our

The King  
 sends to the  
 two Houses  
 a message  
 for peace  
 by the Earl  
 of South-  
 ampton,  
 &c.

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“ part, which may advance the true Protestant religion,  
 “ oppose popery and superstition, secure the law of the  
 “ land, (upon which is built as well our just prerogative, as  
 “ the propriety and liberty of the subject,) confirm all just  
 “ power and privileges of Parliament, and render us and  
 “ our people truly happy by a good understanding betwixt  
 “ us and our two Houses of Parliament. Bring with you  
 “ as firm resolutions to do your duty; and let all our good  
 “ people join with us in our prayers to Almighty God, for  
 “ his blessing upon this work. If this proposition shall  
 “ be rejected by you, we have done our duty so amply,  
 “ that God will absolve us from the guilt of any of that  
 “ blood which must be spilt; and what opinion soever  
 “ other men may have of our power, we assure you no-  
 “ thing but our Christian and pious care to prevent the  
 “ effusion of blood hath begot this motion; our provision  
 “ of men, arms, and money, being such as may secure us  
 “ from farther violence, till it pleases God to open the  
 “ eyes of our people.”

How it was  
 received by  
 them.

This message had the same reception his Majesty believed it would have; and was indeed received with unheard of insolence and contempt. For the Earl of Southampton, and Sir John Colepepper, desiring to appear themselves before any notice should arrive of their coming, made such haste, that they were at Westminster in the morning shortly after the Houses met. The Earl of Southampton went into the House of Peers, where he was scarce sat down in his place, when, with great passion, he was called upon to withdraw; albeit he told them he had a message to them from the King, and there could be no exception to his Lordship's sitting in the House upon their own grounds; he having had leave from the House to attend his Majesty. However he was compelled to withdraw; and then they sent the Gentleman Usher of the House to him, to require his message; which, his Lordship said, he was by the King's command to deliver himself, and refused therefore to send it, except the Lords made an order, that he should not deliver it himself;

which they did; and thereupon he sent it to them; which they no sooner received, than they sent him word, "that he should, at his peril, immediately depart the town, and that they would take care that their answer to the message should be sent to him." And so the Earl of Southampton departed the town, reposing himself at the house of a noble person seven or eight miles off. Whilst the Earl had this skirmish with the Lords, Sir John Colepepper attended the Commons, forbearing to go into the House without leave, because there had been an order, (which is mentioned before,) that all the members, who were not present at such a day, should not presume to sit there, till they had paid a hundred pounds, and given the House satisfaction in the cause of their absence. But he sent word to the Speaker, "that he had a message from the King to them, and that he desired to deliver it in his place in the House." After some debate, (for there remained yet some, who thought it as unreasonable as irregular to deny a member of the House, against whom there had not been the least public objection, and a Privy Counsellor who had been in all times used there with great respect, leave to deliver a message from the King in his own place as a member,) it was absolutely resolved, "that he should not sit in the House, but that he should deliver his message at the bar, and immediately withdraw;" which he did accordingly.

Then the two Houses met at a conference, and read the King's message with great superciliousness; and within two days, with less difficulty and opposition than can be believed, agreed upon their answer. The King's messengers, in the mean time, though of that quality, did not receive ordinary civilities from any members of either House; they who were very willing to have done it, not daring for their own safety to come near them; and the others looking upon them as servants to a master whom they had, and meant farther to oppress. Private conferences they had with some of the principal governors; from whom they received no other advice, but that, if the



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King had any care of himself or his posterity, he should immediately come to London, throw himself into the arms of his Parliament, and comply with whatsoever they proposed. The answer which they returned to the King was this.

Their answer.

*The answer of the Lords and Commons to his Majesty's message of the 25th of August, 1642.*

“ May it please your Majesty :

“ The Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having received your Majesty's message of the 25th of August, do with much grief resent the dangerous and distracted state of this kingdom ; which we have by all means endeavoured to prevent, both by our several addresses and petitions to your Majesty ; which hath been not only without success, but there hath followed that which no ill counsel in former times hath produced, or any age hath seen, namely, those several proclamations and declarations against both the Houses of Parliament, whereby their actions are declared treasonable, and their persons traitors. And thereupon your Majesty hath set up your standard against them, whereby you have put the two Houses of Parliament, and, in them, this whole kingdom, out of your protection ; so that until your Majesty shall recall those proclamations and declarations, whereby the Earl of Essex, and both Houses of Parliament, and their adherents, and assistants, and such as have obeyed and executed their commands and directions, according to their duties, are declared traitors or otherwise delinquents : and until the standard, set up in pursuance of the said proclamation, be taken down, your Majesty hath put us into such a condition, that, whilst we so remain, we cannot, by the fundamental privileges of Parliament, the public trust reposed in us, or with the general good and safety of this kingdom, give your Majesty any other answer to this message.”

When the King's messengers returned with this answer to Nottingham, all men saw to what they must trust ; and

the King believed, he should be no farther moved to make addresses to them. And yet all hopes of an army, or any ability to resist that violence, seemed so desperate, that he was privately advised by some, whom he trusted as much as any, and those whose affections were as entire to him as any men's, to give all other thoughts over, and instantly to make all imaginable haste to London, and to appear in the Parliament-House before they had any expectation of him. And they conceived there would be more likelihood for him to prevail that way, than by any army he was like to raise. And it must be solely imputed to his Majesty's own resolution, that he took not that course. However he was contented to make so much farther use of their pride and passion, as to give them occasion, by another message, to publish more of it to the people; and therefore, within three days after the return of his messengers, he sent the Lord Falkland, his principal Secretary of State, with a reply to their answer in these words.

“ We will not repeat, what means we have used to pre-  
 “ vent the dangerous and distracted estate of the kingdom,  
 “ nor how those means have been interpreted; because,  
 “ being desirous to avoid the effusion of blood, we are  
 “ willing to decline all memory of former bitterness, that  
 “ might render our offer of a treaty less readily accepted.  
 “ We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare, both  
 “ our Houses of Parliament traitors, or set up our stand-  
 “ ard against them; and much less to put them and this  
 “ kingdom out of our protection. We utterly profess  
 “ against it before God, and the world; and, farther to  
 “ remove all possible scruples, which may hinder the treaty  
 “ so much desired by us, we hereby promise, so that a day  
 “ be appointed by you for the revoking of your declara-  
 “ tions against all persons as traitors, or otherwise, for as-  
 “ sisting us; we shall, with all cheerfulness, upon the  
 “ same day recall our proclamations and declarations, and  
 “ take down our standard. In which treaty, we shall be  
 “ ready to grant any thing, that shall be really for the  
 “ good of our subjects: conjuring you to consider the

The King  
sends an-  
other mes-  
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“bleeding condition of Ireland, and the dangerous condition of England, in as high a degree, as by these our offers we have declared ourself to do; and assuring you, that our chief desire, in this world, is to beget a good understanding and mutual confidence betwixt us and our two Houses of Parliament.”

This message had no better effect or reception than the former; their principal officers being sent down since the last message to Northampton to put the army into a readiness to march. And now they required the Earl of Essex himself to make haste thither, that no more time might be lost, sending by the Lord Falkland, within two days, this answer to the King.

Their answer.

To the King's most excellent Majesty;

*The humble answer and petition of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, unto the King's last message.*

“May it please your Majesty:

“If we, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, should repeat all the ways we have taken, the endeavours we have used, and the expressions we have made unto your Majesty, to prevent those distractions, and dangers, your Majesty speaks of, we should too much enlarge this reply. Therefore, as we humbly, so shall we only let your Majesty know, that we cannot recede from our former answer, for the reasons therein expressed. For that your Majesty hath not taken down your standard, recalled your proclamations and declarations, whereby you have declared the actions of both Houses of Parliament to be treasonable, and their persons traitors; and you have published the same since your message of the 25th of August, by your late instructions sent to your Commissioners of array; which standard being taken down, and the declarations, proclamations, and instructions recalled, if your Majesty shall then, upon this our humble petition, leaving your forces, return unto your Parliament, and receive their



“ faithful advice, your Majesty will find such expressions  
 “ of our fidelities, and duties, as shall assure you, that  
 “ your safety, honour, and greatness, can only be found  
 “ in the affections of your people, and the sincere coun-  
 “ sels of your Parliament; whose constant and undiscou-  
 “ raged endeavours and consultations have passed through  
 “ difficulties unheard of, only to secure your kingdoms  
 “ from the violent mischiefs and dangers now ready to  
 “ fall upon them, and every part of them; who deserve  
 “ better of your Majesty, and can never allow themselves  
 “ (representing likewise your whole kingdom) to be ba-  
 “ lanced with those persons, whose desperate dispositions  
 “ and counsels prevail still to interrupt all our endeavours  
 “ for the relieving of bleeding Ireland; as we may fear  
 “ our labours and vast expences will be fruitless to that  
 “ distressed kingdom. As your presence is thus humbly  
 “ desired by us, so it is in our hopes your Majesty will in  
 “ your reason believe, there is no other way than this,  
 “ to make your Majesty’s self happy, and your kingdom  
 “ safe.”

And lest this overture of a treaty might be a means to  
 allay and compose the distempers of the people, and that  
 the hope and expectation of peace might not dishearten  
 their party, in their preparations and contributions to the  
 war, the same day they sent their last answer to the King,  
 they published this declaration to the kingdom.

“ Whereas his Majesty, in a message received the fifth  
 “ of September, requires that the Parliament would re-  
 “ voke their declarations against such persons as have as-  
 “ sisted his Majesty in this unnatural war against his king-  
 “ dom; it is this day ordered, and declared by the Lords  
 “ and Commons, that the arms, which they have been  
 “ forced to take up, and shall be forced to take up, for  
 “ the preservation of the Parliament, religion, the laws  
 “ and liberties of the kingdom, shall not be laid down,  
 “ until his Majesty shall withdraw his protection from  
 “ such persons as have been voted by both Houses to be  
 “ delinquents, or that shall by both Houses be voted to

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 Houses’ de-  
 claration to  
 the king-  
 dom.

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“ be delinquents, and shall leave them to the justice of  
 “ the Parliament to be proceeded with according to their  
 “ demerit; to the end that both this and succeeding ge-  
 “ nerations may take warning, with what danger they in-  
 “ cur the like heinous crimes: and also to the end that  
 “ those great charges and damages, wherewith all the  
 “ commonwealth hath been burdened in the premises,  
 “ since his Majesty’s departure from the Parliament, may  
 “ be borne by the delinquents, and other malignant and  
 “ disaffected persons: and that all his Majesty’s good and  
 “ well affected subjects, who by loan of monies, or other-  
 “ wise at their charge, have assisted the commonwealth,  
 “ or shall in like manner hereafter assist the common-  
 “ wealth in time of extreme danger, may be repaid all  
 “ sums of money lent by them for those purposes, and  
 “ be satisfied their charges so sustained, out of the estates  
 “ of the said delinquents, and of the malignant and dis-  
 “ affected party in this kingdom.”

This declaration did the King no harm; for besides that it was evident to all men, that the King had done whatsoever was in his power, or could be expected from him, for the prevention of a civil war, all persons of honour and quality plainly discerned, that they had no safety but in the preservation of the regal power, since their estates were already disposed of by them who could declare whom they would delinquents, and would infallibly declare all such who had not concurred with them. And the advantage the King received by those overtures, and the pride, frowardness, and perverseness of the rebels, is not imaginable; his levies of men, and all other preparations for the war, being incredibly advanced from the time of his first message. Prince Rupert lay still with the horse at Leicester; and though he, and some of the principal officers with him, were discontented to that degree, upon the King’s first message and desire of a treaty, as likely not only to destroy all hopes of raising an army, but to sacrifice those who were raised, that they were not without some thoughts, at least discourses, of offering violence to

the principal advisers of it, he now found his numbers increased, and better resolved by it; and from Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Staffordshire, came very good recruits of foot; so that his cannon and munition being likewise come up from York, within twenty days his numbers began to look towards an army; and there was another air in all men's faces: yet Nottingham seemed not a good post for his Majesty, to stay longer at; and therefore, about the middle of September, the Earl of Essex being then with his whole army at Northampton, his Majesty marched from Nottingham to Derby; being not then resolved whither to bend his course, to Shrewsbury or Chester, not well knowing the temper of those towns, in both which the Parliament party had been very active; but resolving to sit down near the borders of Wales, where the power of the Parliament had been least prevalent, and where some regiments of foot were levying for his service. Before his leaving Nottingham, as a farewell to his hopes of a treaty, and to make the deeper sense and impression, in the hearts of the people, of those who had so pertinaciously rejected it, his Majesty sent this message to the Houses.

“Who have taken most ways, used most endeavours, and made most real expressions to prevent the present distractions and dangers, let all the world judge, as well by former passages, as by our two last messages, which have been so fruitless, that, though we have descended to desire and press it, not so much as a treaty can be obtained; unless we would denude ourself of all force to defend us from a visible strength marching against us; and admit those persons as traitors to us, who, according to their duty, their oaths of allegiance, and the law, have appeared in defence of us, their King and liege Lord, (whom we are bound in conscience and honour to preserve,) though we disclaimed all our proclamations, and declarations, and the erecting of our standard, as against our Parliament. All we have now left in our power, is to express the deep sense we have of

Another message from the King to the two Houses in reply to their answer.



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“ the public misery of this kingdom, in which is involved  
 “ that of our distressed Protestants of Ireland; and to  
 “ apply ourself to our necessary defence, wherein we  
 “ wholly rely upon the providence of God, the justice of  
 “ our cause, and the affection of our good people; so far  
 “ we are from putting them out of our protection. When  
 “ you shall desire a treaty of us, we shall piously remem-  
 “ ber, whose blood is to be spilt in this quarrel, and cheer-  
 “ fully embrace it. And as no other reason induced us to  
 “ leave our city of London, but that, with honour and  
 “ safety we could not stay there; nor to raise any force,  
 “ but for the necessary defence of our person and the law,  
 “ against levies in opposition to both; so we shall sud-  
 “ denly and most willingly return to the one; and disband  
 “ the other, as soon as those causes shall be removed.  
 “ The God of heaven direct you, and in mercy divert those  
 “ judgments, which hang over this nation; and so deal  
 “ with us, and our posterity, as we desire the preservation  
 “ and advancement of the true Protestant religion; the  
 “ law, and the liberty of the subject; the just rights of  
 “ Parliament, and the peace of the kingdom.”

The King  
removes to  
Derby.

When the King came to Derby, he received clear information from the well affected party in Shrewsbury, that the town was at his devotion; and that the very rumour of his Majesty's purpose of coming thither had driven away all those who were most inclined to sedition. And therefore, as well in regard of the strong and pleasant situation of it, (one side being defended by the Severn, the other having a secure passage into Wales, the confines of Montgomeryshire extending very near the town,) as for the correspondence with Worcester, of which city he hoped well, and that, by his being at Shrewsbury, he should be as well able to secure Chester, as by carrying his whole train so far north; besides that the other might give some apprehension of his going into Ireland, which had been formerly mentioned, his Majesty resolved for that town; and, after one day's stay at Derby, by easy marches he went thither, drawing his whole small forces to a rendezvous at Wel-

lington, a day's march short of Shrewsbury; and that being the first time that they were together, his Majesty then caused his military orders for the discipline and government of the army to be read at the head of each regiment; and then, which is not fit ever to be forgotten, putting himself in the middle, where he might be best heard, not much unlike the Emperor Trajan, who, when he made Sura Great Marshal of the empire, gave him a sword, saying, "Receive this sword of me; and if I command as I ought, employ it in my defence; if I do otherwise, draw it against me, and take my life from me," his Majesty made this speech to his soldiers.

"Gentlemen, you have heard those orders read: it is your part, in your several places, to observe them exactly. The time cannot be long before we come to action, therefore you have the more reason to be careful: and I must tell you, I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever, who transgress these instructions. I cannot suspect your courage and resolution; your conscience and your loyalty hath brought you hither, to fight for your religion, your King, and the laws of the land. You shall meet with no enemies but traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists; such who desire to destroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruin for being loyal to us. That you may see what use I mean to make of your valour, if it please God to bless it with success, I have thought fit to publish my resolution to you in a protestation; which when you have heard me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better quarter; in which I promise to live and die with you."

The King's speech and protestation at the head of his forces, after the reading his orders of war.

The protestation his Majesty was then pleased to make was in these words.

"I do promise in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion, established in the Church of England; and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die."

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“ I desire to govern by all the known laws of the land, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be by them preserved with the same care, as my own just rights. And if it please God, by his blessing upon this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from this rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of Parliament, and to govern by the known laws of the land to my utmost power; and particularly, to observe inviolably the laws consented to by me this Parliament. In the mean while, if this time of war, and the great necessity and straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed by God and men to the authors of this war, and not to me; who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of the peace of this kingdom.

“ When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect no aid or relief from any man, or protection from heaven. But in this resolution, I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of God’s blessing.”

This protestation, and the manner and solemnity of making it, gave not more life and encouragement to the little army, than it did comfort and satisfaction to the gentry and inhabitants of those parts; into whom the Parliament had infused, that, if his Majesty prevailed by force, he would, with the same power, abolish all those good laws, which had been made this Parliament; so that they looked upon this protestation, as a more ample security for their enjoying the benefit of those acts, than the royal assent he had before given. And a more general and passionate expression of affections cannot be imagined, than he received by the people of those counties of Derby, Stafford, and Shropshire, as he passed; or a better reception, than he found at Shrewsbury; into which town he entered on Tuesday the 20th of September.

It will be, and was then, wondered at, that since the Parliament had a full and well formed army, before the King had one full regiment, and the Earl of Essex was

The King  
comes to  
Shrews-  
bury.



himself come to Northampton, some days before his Majesty went from Nottingham, his Lordship neither disquieted the King whilst he staid there, nor gave him any disturbance in his march to Shrewsbury; which if he had done, he might either have taken him prisoner, or so dispersed his small power, that it would never have been possible for him to have gotten an army together. But as the Earl had not yet received his instructions, so they, upon whom he depended, avoided that expedition out of mere pride, and contempt of the King's forces; and upon a presumption, that it would not be possible for him to raise such a power, as would be able to look their army in the face; but that, when he had in vain tried all other ways, and those, who not only followed him upon their own charges, but supported those who were not able to bear their own, (for his army was maintained and paid by the nobility and gentry, who served likewise in their own persons,) were grown weary and unable longer to bear that burden, his Majesty would be forced to put himself into their arms for protection and subsistence; and such a victory without blood had crowned all their designs. And if their army, which they pretended to raise only for their defence, and for the safety of the King's person, had been able to prevent the King's raising any; or if the King, in that melancholic conjuncture at Nottingham, had returned to Whitehall, he had justified all their proceedings, and could never after have refused to yield to whatsoever they proposed.

And it is most certain, that the common soldiers of their army were generally persuaded, that they should never be brought to fight; but that the King was in truth little better than imprisoned by evil counsellors, Malignants, Delinquents, and Cavaliers, (the terms applied to his whole party,) and would gladly come to his Parliament, if he could break from that company; which he would undoubtedly do, if their army came once to such a distance, that his Majesty might make an escape to them. In this kind of discourse they were so sottish, that they were per-

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suaed, that those persons, of whose piety, honour, and integrity, they had received heretofore the greatest testimony, were now turned Papists; and that the small army, and forces the King had, consisted of no other than Papists. Insomuch as truly those of the King's party, who promised themselves any support, but from the comfort of their own consciences, or relied upon any other means than from God Almighty, could hardly have made their expectations appear reasonable; for his enemies were in a manner possessed of the whole kingdom.

Colonel  
Goring  
surrenders  
Portsmouth.

Portsmouth, the strongest and best fortified town then in the kingdom, was surrendered to them; Colonel Goring, about the beginning of September, though he had seemed to be so long resolved, and prepared to expect a siege, and had been supplied with monies according to his own proposal, was brought so low, that he gave it up, only for liberty to transport himself beyond seas, and for his officers to repair to the King. And it were to be wished that there might be no more occasion to mention him hereafter, after this repeated treachery; and that his incomparable dexterity and sagacity had not prevailed so far over those, who had been so often deceived by him, as to make it absolutely necessary to speak at large of him, more than once, before this discourse comes to an end.

The Marquis  
of Hertford's  
proceedings  
in the west.

The Marquis of Hertford, though he had so much discredited the Earl of Bedford's soldiery, and disheartened his great army, that the Earl (after lying in the field four or five nights within less than cannon shot of the castle and town, and after having refused to fight a duel with the Marquis, to which he provoked him by a challenge) sent Sir John Norcot, under pretence of a treaty and the godly care to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, in plain English to desire "that he might fairly and peaceably draw off his forces, and march away;" the which, how reasonable a request soever it was, the Marquis refused; sending them word, "that as they came thither upon their own counsels, so they should get off as they could:" and at last they did draw off, and march above



a dozen miles for repose; leaving the Marquis, for some weeks, undisturbed at Sherborne: yet when he heard of the loss of Portsmouth, the relief whereof was his principal business, and so that those forces would probably be added to the Earl of Bedford, and by their success give much courage to his bashful army, and that a good regiment of horse, which he expected, (for Sir John Byron had sent him word from Oxford, that he would march towards him,) was retired to the King; and that the committees were now so busy in the several counties, that the people in all places declared for the Parliament; and more particularly some strong and populous towns in Somersetshire; as Taunton, Wellington, and Dunstar-Castle; by reason whereof it would not be possible for him to increase his strength; he resolved to leave Sherborne, where his stay could no way advance the King's service, and to try all ways to get to his Majesty. But when he came to Minhead, a port-town, from whence he made no doubt he should be able to transport himself and his company into Wales, he found the people both of the town and county so disaffected, that all the boats, of which there used always to be great store, by reason of the trade for cattle and corn with Wales, were industriously sent away, save only two; so that the Earl of Bedford having taken new heart, and being within four miles with his army, his Lordship, with his small cannon and few foot, with the Lord Pawlet, Lord Seymour, and some gentlemen of Somersetshire, transported himself into Glamorganshire; leaving Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Berkley, Mr Digby, and some other officers with their horse, (consisting of about one hundred and twenty,) to march into Cornwall, in hopes to find that county better prepared for their reception.

Thence  
transport-  
eth himself  
into Gla-  
morgan-  
shire.

On the other hand, the Earl of Bedford, thinking those few fugitives not worth his farther care, and that they would be easily apprehended by the committee of the militia, which was very powerful in Devon and Cornwall, contented himself with having driven away the Marquis, and so expelled all hope of raising an army for the King in



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the west; and retired with his forces to the Earl of Essex, as Sir William Waller had done from Portsmouth; so that as it was not expected, that the forces about his Majesty could be able to defend him against so puissant an army, so it was not imaginable that he could receive any addition of strength from any other parts. For wherever they found any person of quality inclined to the King, or but disinclined to them, they immediately seized upon his person, and sent him in great triumph to the Parliament; who committed him to prison, with all circumstances of cruelty and inhumanity.

Thus they took prisoner the Lord Mountague of Boughton, at his house in Northamptonshire, a person of great reverence, being above fourscore years of age, and of unblemished reputation, for declaring himself unsatisfied with their disobedient and undutiful proceedings against the King, and more expressly against their ordinance for the militia; and notwithstanding that he had a brother of the House of Peers, the Lord Privy Seal, and a nephew, the Lord Kimbolton, who had as full a power in that council as any man, and a son in the House of Commons very unlike his father; his Lordship was committed to the Tower a close prisoner; and, though he was afterwards remitted to more air, he continued a prisoner to his death.

Thus they took prisoner in Oxfordshire the Earl of Berkshire, and three or four principal gentlemen of that county; and committed them to the Tower, for no other reason but wishing well to the King; for they never appeared in the least action in his service. And thus they took prisoner the Earl of Bath in Devonshire, who neither had, or ever meant to do the King the least service; but only out of the morosity of his own nature, had before, in the House, expressed himself not of their minds; and carried him, with many other gentlemen of Devon and Somerset, with a strong guard of horse, to London; where, after they had been exposed to the rudeness and reproach of the common people, who called them traitors and rebels to the Parliament, and pursued them with such

usage as they use to the most infamous malefactors, they were, without ever being examined, or charged with any particular crime, committed to several prisons; so that not only all the prisons about London were quickly filled with persons of honour, and great reputation for sobriety and integrity to their counties, but new prisons were made for their reception; and, which was a new and barbarous invention, very many persons of very good quality, both of the clergy and laity, were committed to prison on board the ships in the river of Thames; where they were kept under decks, and no friend suffered to come to them, by which many lost their lives. And that the loss of their liberty might not be all their punishment, it was the usual course, and very few escaped it, after any man was committed as a notorious Malignant, (which was the brand,) that his estate and goods were seized or plundered by an order from the House of Commons, or some committee, or the soldiers, who in their march took the goods of all Papists and eminent Malignants, as lawful prize; or by the fury and licence of the common people, who were in all places grown to that barbarity and rage against the nobility and gentry, (under the style of Cavaliers,) that it was not safe for any to live at their houses, who were taken notice of as no votaries to the Parliament.

So the common people (no doubt by the advice of their superiors) in Essex on a sudden beset the house of Sir John Lucas, one of the best gentlemen of that county, and of the most eminent affection to the King, being a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the Prince of Wales; and, upon pretence that he was going to the King, possessed themselves of all his horses and arms, seized upon his person, and used him with all possible indignities, not without some threats to murder him: and when the Mayor of Colchester, whither he was brought, with more humanity than the rest, offered to keep him prisoner in his own house, till the pleasure of the Parliament should be farther known, they compelled him, or he was willing to be compelled, to send him to the common gaol; where he re-



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maintained, glad of that security, till the House of Commons removed him to another prison, (without ever charging him with any crime,) having sent all his horses to the Earl of Essex, to be used in the service of that army.

At the same time the same rabble entered the house of the Countess of Rivers, near Colchester; for no other ground, than that she was a Papist; and in few hours disfurnished it of all the goods, which had been many years with great curiosity providing, and were not of less value than forty thousand pounds sterling; the Countess herself hardly escaping, after great insolence had been used to her person: and she could never receive any reparation from the Parliament. These and many other instances of the same kind in London and the parts adjacent, gave sufficient evidence to all men how little else they were to keep, who meant to preserve their allegiance and integrity in the full vigour.

I must not forget, though it cannot be remembered without much horror, that this strange wild-fire among the people was not so much and so furiously kindled by the breath of the Parliament, as of their Clergy, who both administered fuel, and blowed the coals in the Houses too. These men having creeped into, and at last driven all learned and orthodox men from, the pulpits, had, as is before remembered, from the beginning of this Parliament, under the notion of reformation and extirpating of Popery, infused seditious inclinations into the hearts of men against the present government of the Church, with many libellous invectives against the State too. But since the raising an army, and rejecting the King's last overture of a treaty, they contained themselves within no bounds; and as freely and without control inveighed against the person of the King, as they had before against the worst Malignant; profanely and blasphemously applying whatsoever had been spoken and declared by God himself, or the Prophets, against the most wicked and impious Kings, to incense and stir up the people against their most gracious Sovereign.



There are monuments enough in the seditious sermons at that time printed, and in the memories of men, of others not printed, of such wresting and perverting of Scripture to the odious purposes of the preacher, that pious men will not look over without trembling. One takes his text out of Moses's words in the 32d chapter of Exodus, and the 29th verse; *Consecrate yourselves to-day to the Lord, even every man upon his son, and upon his brother, that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day:* and from thence incites his auditory to the utmost prosecution of those, under what relation soever of blood, neighbourhood, dependence, who concurred not in the reformation proposed by the Parliament. Another makes as bold with David's words, in the 1st Chron. chap. xxii. verse 16. *Arise therefore, and be doing:* and from thence assures them, it was not enough to wish well to the Parliament; if they brought not their purse, as well as their prayers, and their hands, as well as their hearts, to the assistance of it, the duty in the text was not performed. There were more than Mr. Marshall, who from the 23d verse of the 5th chapter of Judges, *Curse ye Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty;* presumed to inveigh against, and in plain terms to pronounce God's own curse against all those, who came not, with their utmost power and strength, to destroy and root out all the Malignants, who in any degree opposed the Parliament.

There was one, who from the 48th chapter of the Prophet Jeremiah, and the 10th verse, *Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood,* reproved those who gave any quarter to the King's soldiers. And another out of the 5th verse of the 25th chapter of Proverbs, *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his throne shall be established in righteousness,* made it no less a case of conscience by force to remove the evil counsellors from the King, (with bold intimation what might be done to the King himself, if he would not suffer them to be removed,)

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than to perform any Christian duty that is enjoined. It would fill a volume to insert all the impious madness of this kind, so that the complaint of the Prophet Ezekiel might most truly and seasonably have been applied; *There is a conspiracy of her Prophets in the midst thereof, like a roaring lion ravening the prey; they have devoured souls; they have taken the treasure and precious things; they have made her many widows in the midst thereof.*

It was the complaint of Erasmus of the Clergy in his time, that when Princes were inclinable to wars, *alius e sacro suggesto promittit omnium admissorum condonationem, alius promittit certam victoriam, Prophetarum voces ad rem impiam detorquens. Tam bellaces conciones audivimus*, says he. And indeed no good Christian can, without horror, think of those ministers of the Church, who, by their function being messengers of peace, were the only trumpets of war, and incendiaries towards rebellion. How much more Christian was that Athenian Nun in Plutarch, and how shall she rise up in judgment against those men, who, when Alcibiades was condemned by the public justice of the State, and a decree made that all the religious priests and women should ban and curse him, stoutly refused to perform that office; answering, “that she was “professed religious, to pray and to bless, not to curse and “to ban.” And if the person and the place can improve and aggravate the offence, (as without doubt it doth, both before God and man,) methinks the preaching treason and rebellion out of the pulpits should be worse than the advancing it in the market, as much as poisoning a man at the communion would be worse than murdering him at a tavern. And it may be, in that catalogue of sins, which the zeal of some men hath thought to be the sin against the Holy Ghost, there may not any one be more reasonably thought to be such, than a minister of Christ’s turning rebel against his Prince, (which is a most notorious apostasy against his order,) and his preaching rebellion to the people, as the doctrine of Christ; which, adding blasphemy and pertinacy to his apostasy, hath all the marks by



which good men are taught to avoid that sin against the Holy Ghost. BOOK VI.

Within three or four days after the King's remove from Nottingham, the Earl of Essex, with his whole army, removed from Northampton, and marched towards Worcester; of which his Majesty had no sooner intelligence, than he sent Prince Rupert, with the greatest part of the horse, on the other side of the Severn, towards that city; as well to observe the motion of the enemy, as to give all assistance to that place, which had declared good affections to him; at least to countenance and secure the retreat of those gentlemen, who were there raising forces for the King; but especially to join with Sir John Byron, whom his Majesty had sent, in the end of August, to Oxford, to convey some money, which had been secretly brought from London thither to his Majesty. And he, after some small disasters in his march, by the insurrection of the country people, who were encouraged by the agents for the Parliament, and seconded by the officers of the militia, came safe with his charge to Worcester; where he had been very few hours, when a strong party of horse and dragoons, being sent by the Earl of Essex, under the command of Nathaniel Fiennes, son to the Lord Say, came to surprise the town; which was open enough to have been entered in many places, though in some it had an old decayed wall; and, at the most usual and frequented entrances into the city, weak and rotten gates to be shut, but without either lock or bolt.

Yet this commander, coming early in the morning, when the small guard which had watched, conceiving all to be secure, were gone to rest, and being within musket shot of the gate before he was discovered, finding that weak gate shut, or rather closed against him, and not that quick appearance of a party within the town, as he promised himself, without doing any harm, retired in great disorder, and with so much haste, that the wearied horse, sent out presently to attend him, could not overtake any of his train; so that when Prince Rupert came thither,

The Earl of Essex moves with his army from Northampton.



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they did not conceive any considerable party of the enemy to be near. However his Highness resolved to retire from thence, as soon as he should receive perfect intelligence of the motion of the enemy, when on the sudden reposing himself on the ground with Prince Maurice his brother, the Lord Digby, and the principal officers, in the field before the town, some of his wearied troops (for they had had a long march) being by, but the rest and most of the officers in the town, he espied a fair body of horse, consisting of near five hundred, marching in very good order up a lane within musket shot of him. In this confusion, they had scarce time to get upon their horses, and none to consult of what was to be done, or to put themselves into their several places of command. And, it may be, it was well they had not; for if all those officers had been in the heads of their several troops, it is not impossible it might have been worse. But the Prince instantly declaring, "that he would charge;" his brother, the Lord Digby, Commissary General Wilmot, Sir John Byron, Sir Lewis Dives, and all those officers and gentlemen, whose troops were not present or ready, put themselves next the Prince; the other wearied troops coming in order after them.

A rencounter between the forces near Worcester, where Prince Rupert gets the better.

In this manner the Prince charged them, as soon as they came out of the lane; and being seconded by this handful of good men, though the rebels being gallantly led by Colonel Sandys, (a gentleman of Kent, and the son of a worthy father,) and completely armed both for offence and defence, stood well; yet in a short time, many of their best men being killed, and Colonel Sandys himself falling with his hurts, the whole body was routed, fled, and was pursued by the conquerors for the space of above a mile. The number of the slain were not many, not above forty or fifty, and those most officers; for their arms were so good, that in the charge they were not to be easily killed, and in the chase the goodness of their horse made it impossible. Colonel Sandys, who died shortly after of his wounds, Captain Wingate, who was the more known, by being a member of the House of Commons, and taken notice of for

having in that charge behaved himself stoutly, and two or three Scottish officers, were taken prisoners. Of the King's party none of name was lost: Commissary General Wilmot hurt with a sword in the side, and Sir Lewis Dives in the shoulder, and two or three other officers of inferior note; none miscarrying of their wounds, which was the more strange for that, by reason they expected not an encounter, there was not, on the Prince's side, a piece of armour worn that day, and but few pistols; so that most of the hurt that was done was by the sword. Six or seven cornets of the enemy's were taken, and many good horses, and some arms; for they who run away made themselves as light as they could.

This rencounter proved of great advantage and benefit to the King. For it being the first action his horse had been brought to, and that party of the enemy being the most picked and choice men, it gave his troops great courage, and rendered the name of Prince Rupert very terrible, and exceedingly appalled the adversary; insomuch as they had not, in a long time after, any confidence in their horse, and their very numbers were much lessened by it. For that whole party being routed, and the chief officers of name and reputation either killed or taken, though the number lost upon the place was not considerable, there were very many more who never returned to the service; and, which was worse, for their own excuse, in all places, talked aloud of the incredible and irresistible courage of Prince Rupert, and the King's horse. So that, from this time, the Parliament begun to be apprehensive, that the business would not be as easily ended, as it was begun; and that the King would not be brought back to them with their bare votes. Yet how faintly soever the private pulses beat, (for no question many, who had made greatest noise, wished they were again to choose their side,) the two Houses were so far from any visible abatement of their mettle, that to weigh down any possible supposition that they might be inclined, or drawn to treat with the King, or that they had any apprehension that the people



BOOK VI. would be less firm, and constant to them, they proceeded to bolder acts to evince both, than they had yet done.

For to the first, to shew how secure they were against resentment from his allies, as well as against his Majesty's own power, they caused the Capuchin Friars, who, by the articles of marriage, were to have a safe reception and entertainment in the Queen's family, and had, by her Majesty's care, and at her charge, a small, but a convenient habitation, by her own chapel, in her own house, in the Strand, and had continued there, without disturbance, from the time of the marriage, after many insolencies and indignities offered to them by the rude multitude, even within those gates of her own house, to be taken from thence, and to be sent over into France, with protestation, "that if they were found again in England, they should be proceeded against as traitors:" and this in the face of the French Ambassador, who notwithstanding withdrew not from them his courtship and application.

The two Houses' instructions to their General.

Then, that the King might know how little they dreaded his forces, they sent down their instructions to the Earl of Essex their General, who had long expected them; whereby, among other things of form for the better discipline of the army, "they required him to march, with such forces as he thought fit, towards the army raised, in his Majesty's name, against the Parliament and the kingdom; and with them, or any part of them, to fight at such time and place as he should judge most to conduce to the peace and safety of the kingdom: and that he should use his utmost endeavour by battle, or otherwise, to rescue his Majesty's person, and the persons of the Prince, and Duke of York, out of the hands of those desperate persons, who were then about them. They directed him to take an opportunity, in some safe and honourable way, to cause the petition of both Houses of Parliament, then sent to him, to be presented to his Majesty; and if his Majesty should thereupon please to withdraw himself from the forces then about him, and to resort to the Parliament, his Lordship should cause his Majesty's



“ forces to disband, and should serve and defend his Majesty with a sufficient strength in his return. They required his Lordship to publish and declare, that if any who had been so seduced, by the false aspersions cast upon the proceedings of the Parliament, as to assist the King in acting of those dangerous counsels, should willingly, within ten days after such publication in the army, return to their duty, not doing any hostile act within the time limited, and join themselves with the Parliament in defence of religion, his Majesty’s person, the liberties, and law of the kingdom, and privileges of Parliament, with their persons, and estates, as the Members of both Houses, and the rest of the kingdom, have done, that the Lords and Commons would be ready, upon their submission, to receive such persons in such a manner, as they should have cause to acknowledge they had been used with clemency and favour; provided that that favour should not extend to admit any man into either House of Parliament, who stood suspended, without giving satisfaction to the House whereof he should be a Member; and except all persons who stood impeached, or particularly voted against in either House of Parliament for any delinquency whatsoever; excepting likewise such adherents of those, who stood impeached in Parliament of treason, as had been eminent persons, and chief actors in those treasons.” And lest those clauses of exception (which no doubt comprehended all the King’s party, and if not, they were still to be judges of their own clemency and favour, which was all was promised to the humblest penitent) might invite those, whom they had no mind to receive on any terms, they vouchsafed a “ particular exception of the Earl of Bristol, the Earl of Cumberland, the Earl of Newcastle, the Earl of Rivers, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Carnarvon, the Lord Newark, and the Lord Viscount Falkland, Principal Secretary of State to his Majesty, Mr. Secretary Nicholas, Mr. Endymion Porter, Mr. Edward Hyde;” against not one of whom was there a charge depending of any crime,

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and against very few of them so much as a vote, which was no great matter of delinquency.

It will be here necessary to insert the petition, directed to be presented in some safe and honourable way to his Majesty; the rather for that the same was, upon the reasons hereafter mentioned, never presented; which was afterwards objected to his Majesty as a rejection of peace on his part, when they desired it. The petition was in these words.

The petition of both Houses to the King, sent to the General to be presented, but never delivered.

“ We your Majesty’s loyal subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, cannot, without great grief, and tenderness of compassion, behold the pressing miseries, the imminent dangers, and the devouring calamities, which extremely threaten, and have partly seized upon, both your kingdoms of England and Ireland, by the practices of a party prevailing with your Majesty; who, by many wicked plots and conspiracies, have attempted the alteration of the true religion, and the ancient government of this kingdom, and the introducing of Popish idolatry and superstition in the Church, and tyranny and confusion in the State; and, for the compassing thereof, have long corrupted your Majesty’s counsels, abused your power, and, by sudden and untimely dissolving of former Parliaments, have often hindered the reformation and prevention of those mischiefs; and being now disabled to avoid the endeavours of this Parliament, by any such means, have traitorously attempted to overawe the same by force; and, in prosecution of their wicked designs, have excited, encouraged, and fostered an unnatural rebellion in Ireland; by which, in a most cruel and outrageous manner, many thousands of your Majesty’s subjects there have been destroyed; and, by false slanders upon your Parliament, and malicious and unjust accusations, have endeavoured to begin the like massacre here; and being, through God’s blessing, therein disappointed, have, as the most mischievous and bloody design of all, drawn your Majesty to make war against your Parliament, and good subjects of



“ this kingdom, leading in your person an army against  
“ them, as if you intended, by conquest, to establish an  
“ absolute and unlimited power over them; and by your  
“ power, and the countenance of your presence, have ransacked, spoiled, imprisoned, and murdered divers of your  
“ people; and, for their better assistance in their wicked  
“ designs, do seek to bring over the rebels of Ireland, and  
“ other forces, beyond the seas, to join with them.

“ And we, finding ourselves utterly deprived of your  
“ Majesty’s protection, and the authors, counsellors, and  
“ abettors of these mischiefs in greatest power and favour  
“ with your Majesty, and defended by you against the justice and authority of your high court of Parliament;  
“ whereby they are grown to that height and insolence, as  
“ to manifest their rage and malice against those of the  
“ Nobility, and others, who are any whit inclinable to  
“ peace, not without great appearance of danger to your  
“ own royal person, if you shall not in all things concur  
“ with their wicked and traitorous courses; have, for the  
“ just and necessary defence of the Protestant religion, of  
“ your Majesty’s person, crown, and dignity, of the laws  
“ and liberties of the kingdom, and the privileges and  
“ power of Parliament, taken up arms, and appointed and  
“ authorized Robert Earl of Essex to be Captain General  
“ of all the forces by us raised, and to lead and conduct  
“ the same against these rebels and traitors, and them to  
“ subdue, and bring to condign punishment; and do most  
“ humbly beseech your Majesty to withdraw your royal  
“ presence and countenance from those wicked persons;  
“ and, if they shall stand out in defence of their rebellious  
“ and unlawful attempts, that your Majesty will leave  
“ them to be suppressed by that power, which we have  
“ sent against them; and that your Majesty will not mix  
“ your own dangers with theirs, but in peace and safety,  
“ without your forces, forthwith return to your Parliament; and, by their faithful counsel and advice, compose the present distempers and confusions abounding  
“ in both your kingdoms; and provide for the security and



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“honour of yourself and your royal posterity, and the  
 “prosperous estate of all your subjects; wherein if your  
 “Majesty please to yield to our most humble and earnest  
 “desires, we do, in the presence of Almighty God, pro-  
 “fess, that we will receive your Majesty with all honour,  
 “yield you all due obedience and subjection, and faithfully  
 “endeavour to secure your person and estate from all  
 “dangers; and, to the uttermost of our power, to pro-  
 “cure and establish to yourself, and to your people, all  
 “the blessings of a glorious and happy reign.”

Besides this, that it might appear they were nothing  
 jealous or apprehensive of the people's defection and re-  
 volt from them, whereas before they had made the general  
 desire of the kingdom the ground and argument for what-  
 soever they had done, and had only invited men to contri-  
 bute freely what they thought fit to the charge in hand,  
 without compelling any who were unwilling; they now  
 took notice not only of those who opposed their proceed-  
 ings, or privately dissuaded other men from concurring  
 with them, but of those, who either out of fear, or covet-  
 ousness, or both, had neglected really to contribute; and  
 therefore they boldly published their votes, (which were  
 laws to the people, or of much more authority,) “That all  
 “such persons, as should not contribute to the charge of  
 “the commonwealth, in that time of eminent necessity,  
 “should be disarmed and secured;” and that this vote  
 might be the more terrible, they ordered, the same day,  
 the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, “to search the houses,  
 “and seize the arms belonging to some Aldermen, and  
 “other principal substantial citizens of London,” whom  
 they named in their order; “for that it appeared by the  
 “report from their committee, that they had not contri-  
 “buted, as they ought, to the charge of the common-  
 “wealth.”

Votes  
of both  
Houses for  
raising and  
procuring  
money.

By this means the poorest and lowest of the people be-  
 came informers against the richest and most substantial;  
 and the result of searching the houses and seizing the arms  
 was, the taking away plate, and things of the greatest va-

lue, and very frequently plundering whatsoever was worth the keeping. They farther appointed, "that the fines, "rents, and profits of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, "Deans and Chapters, and of all Delinquents, who had "taken up arms against the Parliament, or had been active in the commission of array, should be sequestered "for the use and benefit of the commonwealth." And that the King might not fare better than his adherents, they directed "all his revenue, arising out of rents, fines "in courts of justice, composition for wards, and the like, "and all other his revenue, should be brought into the "several courts, and other places, where they ought to be "paid in, and not issued forth, or paid forth, until farther "order should be taken by both Houses of Parliament;" without so much as assigning him any part of his own, towards the support of his own person.

This stout invasion of the people's property, and compelling them to part with what was most precious to them, any part of their estates, was thought by many an unpopular act, in the morning of their sovereignty, and that it would wonderfully have irreconciled their new subjects to them. But the conductors well understood, that their empire already depended more on the fear, than love of the people; and that as they could carry on the war only by having money enough to pay the soldiers, so, that whilst they had that, probably they should not want men to recruit their armies upon any misadventure.

It cannot be imagined, how great advantages the King received by the Parliament's rejecting the King's messages for peace, and their manner in doing it. All men's mouths were opened against them, the messages and answers being read in all churches; they, who could not serve him in their persons, contrived ways to supply him with money. Some eminent governors in the Universities gave him notice that all the colleges were very plentifully supplied with plate, which would amount to a good value, and lay useless in their treasuries, there being enough besides for their common use; and there was not the least doubt, but

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that whensoever his Majesty should think fit to require that treasure, it would all be sent to him. Of this the King had long thought, and, when he was at Nottingham, in that melancholic season, two gentlemen were dispatched away to Oxford, and to Cambridge, (two to each,) with letters to the several Vice-Chancellors, that they should move the Heads and Principals of the several colleges and halls, that they would send their plate to the King; private advertisements being first sent to some trusty persons to prepare and dispose those, without whose consent the service could not be performed.

The two Universities contributed their money and plate to the King.

This whole affair was transacted with so great secrecy and discretion, that the messengers returned from the two Universities, in as short a time as such a journey could well be made; and brought with them all, or very near all, their plate, and a considerable sum of money, which was sent as a present to his Majesty from several of the Heads of colleges, out of their own particular stores; some Scholars coming with it, and helping to procure horses and carts for the service; all which came safe to Nottingham, at the time when there appeared no more expectation of a treaty, and contributed much to raising the dejected spirits of the place. The plate was presently weighed out, and delivered to the several officers, who were intrusted to make levies of horse and foot, and who received it as money; the rest was carefully preserved to be carried with the King, when he should remove from thence; secret orders being sent to the officers of the Mint, to be ready to come to his Majesty as soon as he should require them; which he meant to do, as soon as he should find himself in a place convenient. There was now no more complaining or murmuring: Some gentlemen undertook to make levies upon their credit and interest, and others sent money to the King upon their own inclinations.

There was a pleasant story, then much spoken of in the Court, which administered some mirth. There were two great men who lived near Nottingham, both men of



great fortunes and of great parsimony, and known to have much money lying by them. To the former the Lord Capel was sent; to the latter, John Ashburnham of the Bedchamber, and of entire confidence with his Master; each of them with a letter, all written with the King's hand, to borrow of each ten or five thousand pounds. Capel was very civilly received by one, and entertained as well as the ill accommodations in his house, and his manner of living, would admit. He expressed, with wonderful civil professions of duty, "the great trouble he sustained, in not being able to comply with his Majesty's commands:" he said, "all men knew that he neither had, nor could have money, because he had every year, of ten or a dozen which were past, purchased a thousand pounds land a year; and therefore he could not be imagined to have any money lying by him, which he never loved to have. But, he said, he had a neighbour, who lived within few miles of him, who was good for nothing, and lived like a hog, not allowing himself necessities, and who could not have so little as twenty thousand pounds in the scurvy house in which he lived;" and advised, "he might be sent to, who could not deny the having of money;" and concluded with great duty to the King, and detestation of the Parliament, and as if he meant to consider farther of the thing, and to endeavour to get some money for him; which though he did not remember to send, his affections were good, and he was afterwards killed in the King's service.

Ashburnham got no more money, nor half so many good words. That Lord had so little correspondence with the Court, that he had never heard his name; and when he had read the King's letter, he asked from whom it was; and when he told him, "he saw it was from the King," he replied, "that he was not such a fool as to believe it. That he had received letters both from the King and his father;" and hastily running out of the room, returned with half a dozen letters in his hand; saying, "that those were all the King's letters, and that they always begun

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“ with *Right trusty and well-beloved*, and the King’s name “ was ever at the top ; but this letter begun with his own “ name, and ended with *your loving friend C. R.* which, he “ said, he was sure could not be the King’s hand.” His other treatment was according to this, and, after an ill supper, he was shewed an indifferent bed ; the Lord telling him, “ that he would confer more of the matter in “ the morning ;” he having sent a servant with a letter to the Lord Falkland, who was his wife’s nephew, and who had scarce ever seen his uncle. The man came to Nottingham about midnight, and found my Lord Falkland in his bed. The letter was to tell him, “ that one Ashburnham was with him, who brought him a letter, which he “ said was from the King ; but he knew that could not “ be ; and therefore he desired to know, who this man “ was, whom he kept in his house till the messenger “ should return.” In spite of the laughter, which could not be forbore, the Lord Falkland made haste to inform him of the condition and quality of the person, and that the letter was writ with the King’s own hand, which he seldom vouchsafed to do. And the messenger returning early the next morning, his Lordship treated Mr. Ashburnham with so different a respect, that he, who knew nothing of the cause, believed that he should return with all the money that was desired. But it was not long before he was undeceived. The Lord with as cheerful a countenance as his could be, for he had a very unusual and unpleasant face, told him, “ that though he had no money “ himself, but was in extreme want of it, he would tell “ him where he might have money enough ; that he had a “ neighbour, who lived within four or five miles, that never “ did good to any body, and loved nobody but himself, “ who had a world of money, and could furnish the King “ with as much as he had need of ; and if he should deny “ that he had money when the King sent to him, he knew “ where he had one trunk full, and would discover it ; and “ that he was so ill beloved, and had so few friends, that “ nobody would care how the King used him.” This

good counsel was all Mr. Ashburnham could make of him: and yet this wretched man was so far from wishing well to the Parliament, that when they had prevailed, and were possessed of the whole kingdom, as well as of Nottinghamshire, he would not give them one penny; nor compound for his delinquency, as they made the having lived in the King's quarters to be; but suffered his whole estate to be sequestered, and lived in a very miserable fashion, only by what he could ravish from his tenants; who, though they paid their rents to the Parliament, were forced by his rage and threats to part with so much as kept him, till he died, in that condition he chose to live in: his conscience being powerful enough to deny himself, though it could not dispose him to grant to the King. And thus the two messengers returned to the King, so near the same time, that he who came first had not given his account to the King, before the other entered into his presence.

The same day, a gentleman in those parts, known to be very rich, being pressed to lend the King five hundred pounds, sent him a present of one hundred pieces in gold; "which," he said, "he had procured with great difficulty;" and protested, with many execrable imprecations, "that he had never in his life seen five hundred pounds of his own together;" when, within one month after the King's departure, the Parliament troops, which borrowed in another style, took five thousand pounds from him, which was lodged with him, in the chamber in which he lay. Which is therefore mentioned in this place, that upon this occasion it may be seen, that the unthrifty retention of their money, which possessed the spirits of those, who did really wish the King all the success he wished for himself, was one unhappy cause of all his misfortunes: and if they had, in the beginning, but lent the King the fifth part of what, after infinite losses, they found necessary to sacrifice to his enemies, in the conclusion, to preserve themselves from total ruin, his Majesty had been



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able, with God's blessing, to have preserved them, and to have destroyed all his enemies.

The news of the important advantage before Worcester found the King at Chester, whither his Majesty thought necessary to make a journey himself, as soon as he came to Shrewsbury, both to assure that city to his service, which was the key to Ireland, and to countenance the Lord Strange (who, by the death of his father, became Earl of Derby) against some opposition he met with, on the behalf of the Parliament. Here Crane, sent by Prince Rupert, gave his Majesty an account of that action; and presented him with the ensigns, which had been taken; and informed him of the Earl of Essex's being in Worcester; which made the King return sooner to Shrewsbury than he intended, and before the Earl of Derby was possessed of that power, which a little longer stay would have given him.

Prince Rupert the same night, after his victory, finding the gross of the rebels' army to be within five or six miles, against which that city was in no degree tenable, though all the King's foot had been there, retired from Worcester on the Welsh side of the river, without any disturbance, into his quarters near Shrewsbury, and with all his prisoners, Colonel Sandys only excepted, whom he left to die of his wounds there; the Earl of Essex being so much startled with this late defeat, that he advanced not in two days after; and then being surely informed, that he should find no resistance, he entered with his army into Worcester; using great severity to those citizens, who had been eminently inclined to the King's service, and sending the principal of them prisoners to London.

The King  
comes to  
Shrews-  
bury.

Upon the King's coming to Shrewsbury, there was a very great conflux of the gentry there, and the neighbouring counties, which were generally well affected, and made great professions of duty to his Majesty: some of them undertook to make levies of horse and foot, and performed it at their own charge. The town was very commodious

in all respects, strong in its situation; and in respect of its neighbourhood to North Wales, and the use of the Severn, yielded excellent provisions of all kinds; so that both court and army were very well accommodated, only the incurable disease of want of money could not be assuaged in either. Yet whilst they sat still, it was not very sensible, much less importunate. The soldiers behaved themselves orderly, and the people were not inclined or provoked to complain of their new guests; and the remainder of the plate, which was brought from the Universities, together with the small presents in money, which were made to the King by many particular persons, supplied the present necessary expences very conveniently. But it was easily discerned, that, when the army should move, which the King resolved it should do with all possible expedition, the necessity of money would be very great, and the train of artillery, which is commonly a sponge that can hardly be filled, was destitute of all things necessary for motion. Nor was there any hope that it could march, till a good sum of money were assigned to it; some carriage-horses, and waggons, which were prepared for the service of Ireland, and lay ready at Chester, to be transported with the Earl of Leicester, Lieutenant of that kingdom, were brought to Shrewsbury, by his Majesty's order, for his own train: and the Earl's passionate labouring to prevent or remedy that application, with some other reasons, hindered the Earl himself from pursuing that journey; and, in the end, deprived him of that province. But this seasonable addition to the train increased the necessity of money, there being more use of it thereby.

Two expedients were found to make such a competent provision for all wants, that they were at last broken through. Some person of that inclination had insinuated to the King, that, "if the Roman Catholics, which that  
"and the adjacent counties were well inhabited by, were se-  
"cretly treated with, a considerable sum of money might  
"be raised among them; but it must be carried with

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“ great privacy, that no notice might be taken of it, the Parliament having declared so great animosities against them;” nor did it in that conjuncture concern the King less that it should be very secret, to avoid the scandal of a close conjunction with the Papists, which was every day imputed to him. Upon many consultations how, and in what method, to carry on this design, the King was informed, “ that if he would depute a person, much trusted by him, to that service, the Roman Catholics would trust him, and assign one or two of their body to confer with him, and by this means the work might be carried on.” Hereupon the King sent for that person, and told him this whole matter, as it is here set down, and required him to consult with such a person, whom he would send to him the next morning. The next morning a person of quality, very much trusted by all that party, came to him to confer upon that subject; and shewed a list of the names of all the gentlemen of quality and fortune of that religion, who were all convict Recusants, and lived within those counties of Shropshire and Stafford. They appeared to be a good number of very valuable men, on whose behalf he had only authority to conclude, though he believed that the method, they agreed on there, would be submitted to, and confirmed by that party in all other places. He said, “ they would by no means hearken to any motion for the loan of money, for which they had paid so dear, upon their serving the King in that manner, in his first expedition against the Scots.” It was in the end agreed upon, that the King should write to every one of them to pay him an advance of two or three years of such rent, as they were every year obliged to pay him, upon the composition they had made with him for their estates; which would amount to a considerable sum of money. And these letters were accordingly writ, and within ten or twelve days between four and five thousand pounds were returned to his Majesty; which was a seasonable supply for his affairs.

At his return to Shrewsbury, the King found as much



done towards his march, as he expected. And then the other expedient (which was hinted before) for money offered itself. There was a gentleman of a very good extraction, and of the best estate of any gentleman of that country, who lived within four or five miles of Shrewsbury, and was looked upon as a very prudent man, and had a very powerful influence upon that people, and was of undoubted affections and loyalty to the King, and to the government both in Church and State: his eldest son was a young gentleman of great expectation, and of excellent parts, a member of the House of Commons, who had behaved himself there very well. This gentleman intimated to a friend of his, "That, if his father might be made a Baron, he did believe he might be prevailed with to present his Majesty with a good sum of money." It was proposed to the King, who had no mind to embrace the proposition, his Majesty taking occasion often to speak against "making merchandise of honour; how much the Crown suffered at present by the licence of that kind, which had been used during the favour of the Duke of Buckingham; and that he had not taken a firmer resolution against many things, than against this particular expedient for raising money." However, after he returned from Chester, and found by the increase of his levies, and the good disposition all things were in, that he might in a short time be able to march, and in so good a condition, that he should rather seek the rebels, than decline meeting with them, if the indispensable want of money did not make his motion impossible; the merit and ability of the person, and the fair expectation from his posterity, he having two sons, both very hopeful, prevailed with his Majesty to resume the same overture; and in few days it was perfected, and the gentleman was made a Baron; who presented the sum of six thousand pounds to his Majesty; whereupon all preparations for the army were prosecuted with effect.

As soon as the King came to Shrewsbury, he had dispatched his letters and agents into Wales, Cheshire, and

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Lancashire, to quicken the levies of men which were making there, and returned from Chester through the north part of Wales (where he found the people cordial to him, and arming themselves for him) to Shrewsbury. The King's custom was in all counties, through which he passed, to cause the High Sheriff to draw all the gentlemen and the most substantial inhabitants of those parts together, to whom (besides his caressing the principal gentlemen severally, familiarly, and very obligingly) he always spoke something publicly, (which was afterwards printed,) telling them,

The substance of the King's speeches to the gentry and commonalty of the several counties through which he passed.

That it was a benefit to him from the insolences and "misfortunes, which had driven him about, that they had brought him to so good a part of his kingdom, and to so faithful a part of his people. He hoped, neither they nor he should repent their coming together. He would do his part, that they might not; and of them he was confident before he came." He told them, "the residence of an army was not usually pleasant to any place; and his might carry more fear with it, since it might be thought, (being robbed, and spoiled of all his own, and such terror used to fright and keep all men from supplying him,) he must only live upon the aid and relief of his people." But he bid them "not be afraid;" and said, "he wished to God, his poor subjects suffered no more by the insolence and violence of that army raised against him, though they had made themselves wanton with plenty, than they should do by his; and yet he feared he should not be able to prevent all disorders; he would do his best; and promised them, no man should be a loser by him, if he could help it." He said, "he had sent for a mint, and would melt down all his own plate, and expose all his land to sale, or mortgage, that he might bring the least pressure upon them." However, he invited them "to do that for him, and themselves, for the maintenance of their religion, and the law of the land, (by which they enjoyed all that they had,) which other men did against them;" he desired them,

“not to suffer so good a cause to be lost, for want of  
“supplying him with that, which would be taken from  
“them, by those who pursued his Majesty with that vio-  
“lence. And whilst those ill men sacrificed their money,  
“plate, and utmost industry, to destroy the common-  
“wealth, they would be no less liberal to preserve it. He  
“bid them assure themselves, if it pleased God to bless  
“him with success, he would remember the assistance  
“every particular man gave him to his advantage. How-  
“ever it would hereafter (how furiously soever the minds  
“of some men were now possessed) be honour and comfort  
“to them, that, with some charge and trouble to them-  
“selves, they had done their part to support their King,  
“and preserve the kingdom.”

His Majesty always took notice of any particular reports, which, either with reference to the public, or their private concerns, might make impression upon that people, and gave clear answers to them. With this gracious and princely demeanour, it is hardly credible how much he won upon the people; so that not only his army daily increased by volunteers, (for there was not a man pressed,) but such proportions of plate and money were voluntarily brought in, that the army was fully and constantly paid: the King having erected a mint at Shrewsbury, more for reputation than use, (for, for want of workmen and instruments, they could not coin a thousand pounds a week,) and causing all his own plate, for the service of his household, to be delivered there, made other men think, theirs was the less worth the preserving.

Shortly after the Earl of Essex came to Worcester, he sent a gentleman (Fleetwood, the same who had afterwards so great power in the army, but then a Trooper in his guards) to Shrewsbury, without a trumpet, or any other ceremony than a letter to the Earl of Dorset; in which he said, “he was appointed by the Parliament, to cause a pe-  
“tition, then in his hands, to be presented to his Majesty;  
“and therefore desired his Lordship to know his Majesty’s  
“pleasure, when he would be pleased to receive it from



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“such persons, as he should send over with it.” The Earl of Dorset (by his Majesty’s command, after it had been debated in council what answer to return) sent him word in writing “that the King had always been, and “would be still, ready to receive any petition from his two “Houses of Parliament; and if the Earl had any such to “be presented, if he sent it by any persons, who stood “not personally accused by his Majesty of high treason, “and excepted specially in all offers of pardon made by “him, the persons who brought it should be welcome; “and the King would return such an answer to it, as “should be agreeable to honour and justice.” Whether this limitation as to messengers displeased them, (as it was afterwards said, that the messengers appointed to have delivered it were the Lord Mandevile and Mr. Hambden, who, they thought, would have skill to make infusions into many persons then about his Majesty; and the hopes of that access being barred by that limitation and exception, they would not send any other,) or what other reason soever there was, the King heard no more of this petition, or any address of that nature, till he found, by some new printed votes and declarations, “that he was guilty of “another breach of the privilege of Parliament, for having “refused to receive their petition, except it were presented “in such a manner as he prescribed: whereas they alone “were judges in what manner, and by what persons, their “own petitions should be delivered, and he ought so to “receive them.” So that petition, which is before set down in the very terms it passed both Houses, was never delivered to his Majesty.

The  
strength of  
the King’s  
army at  
Shrews-  
bury.

There cannot be too often mention of the wonderful providence of God, that from that low despised condition the King was in at Nottingham, after the setting up his standard, he should be able to get men, money, or arms, so that, within twenty days after his coming to Shrewsbury, he resolved to march, in despite of the enemy, even towards London; his foot, by this time, consisting of about six thousand; and his horse of two thousand; his train in

very good order, commanded by Sir John Heydon. And though this strength was much inferior to the enemy, yet as it was greater than any man thought possible to be raised, so all thought it sufficient to encounter the rebels. Besides that it was confidently believed, (and not without some grounds, upon correspondence with some officers in the other army,) that, as soon as the armies came within any reasonable distance of each other, very many soldiers would leave their colours, and come to the King; which expectation was confirmed by divers soldiers, who every day dropped in from those forces; and, to make themselves welcome, told many stories of their fellows' resolutions, whom they had left behind.

And this must be confessed, that either by the care and diligence of the officers, or by the good inclinations and temper of the soldiers themselves, the army was in so good order and discipline, that, during the King's stay at Shrewsbury, there was not any remarkable disorder; the country being very kind to the soldiers, and the soldiers just, and regardful to the country. And by the free loans and contributions of the gentlemen and substantial inhabitants, but especially by the assistance of the nobility, who attended, the army was so well paid, that there was not the least mutiny or discontent for want of pay; nor was there any cause; for they seldom failed every week, never went above a fortnight unpaid.

The greatest difficulty was to provide arms; of which indeed there was a wonderful scarcity, the King being exceedingly disappointed in his expectation of arms from Holland; a vessel or two having been taken by his own ships, under the command of the Earl of Warwick; so that, except eight hundred muskets, five hundred pair of pistols, and two hundred swords, which came with the powder, landed in Yorkshire, as is before mentioned, the King had none in his magazine; so that he was compelled to begin at Nottingham, and so in all places as he passed, to borrow the arms from the Trained Bands; which was done with so much wariness and caution, (albeit it was

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known that those arms would, being left in those hands, be employed against him, or at least be of no use to him,) that it was done rather with their consent, than by any constraint, and always with the full approbation of their commanders. And therefore in Yorkshire and Shropshire, where the gentlemen very unskilfully, though with good meaning, desired that the arms might still be left in the country men's hands, there was none of that kind of borrowing. But, in all places, the noblemen, and gentlemen of quality, sent the King such supplies of arms, out of their own armories, (which were very mean,) so that by all those means together, the foot, all but three or four hundred, who marched without any weapon but a cudgel, were armed with muskets, and bags for their powder, and pikes; but, in the whole body, there was not a pikeman had a corslet, and very few musketeers who had swords. Among the horse, the officers had their full desire, if they were able to procure old backs, and breasts, and pots with pistols, or carabines, for their two or three first ranks, and swords for the rest; themselves (and some soldiers by their examples) having gotten, besides their pistols and swords, a short pole-axe.

The foot were divided into three brigades; the first commanded by Sir Nicholas Byron, the second by Colonel Harry Wentworth, the third by Colonel Richard Fielding, Sir Jacob Ashley being Major General, and commanding the foot immediately under the General. For, though General Ruthen, who came to the King some few days before he left Shrewsbury, was made Field Marshal, yet he kept wholly with the horse to assist Prince Rupert: and Sir Arthur Aston, of whose soldiery there was a very great esteem, was made Colonel General of the dragoons; which at that time, though consisting of two or three regiments, were not above eight hundred, or a thousand at the most. Most of the persons of quality, except those whose attendance was near the King's own person, put themselves into the King's troop of guards, commanded by the Lord Bernard Stewart; and made in-



deed so gallant a body, that, upon very modest computation, the estate and revenue of that single troop, it was thought, might justly be valued at least equal to all theirs, who then voted in both Houses, under the name of the Lords and Commons of Parliament, which made and maintained that war. Their servants, under the command of Sir William Killigrew, made another full troop, and always marched with their lords and masters.

In this equipage the King marched from Shrewsbury, on the twelfth of October, to Bridgenorth, never less baggage attending a royal army, there being not one tent, and very few waggons belonging to the whole train; having in his whole army not one officer of the field who was a Papist, except Sir Arthur Aston, if he were one; and very few common soldiers of that religion. However the Parliament, in all their declarations, and their Clergy much more in their sermons, assured the people, "that the King's army consisted only of Papists," whilst themselves entertained all of that religion, that they could get; and very many, both officers and soldiers, of that religion engaged with them; whether it was that they really believed, that that army did desire liberty of conscience for all religions, as some of the chief of them pretended, or that they desired to divide themselves for communication of intelligence, and interest. And here it is not fit to forget one particular, that, when the committee of Parliament appointed to advance the service upon the proposition for plate, and horses, in the county of Suffolk, sent word to the House of Commons, "that some Papists offered to lend money upon those propositions, and desired advice whether they should accept of it," it was answered, "that if they offered any considerable sum, whereby it might be conceived to proceed from a real affection to the Parliament, and not out of policy to bring themselves within their protection, and so to excuse their delinquency, it should be accepted of."

When the King was ready for his march, there was some difference of opinion which way he should take;

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many were of opinion that he should march towards Worcester, where the Earl of Essex still remained; those countries were thought well affected to the King; where his army would be supplied with provisions, and increased in numbers; and that no time should be lost in coming to a battle; because the longer it was deferred, the stronger the Earl would grow, by the supplies which were every day sent to him from London; and he had store of arms with him to supply all defects of that kind. However it was thought more counsellable to march directly towards London, it being morally sure, that the Earl of Essex would put himself in their way. The King had much confidence in his horse, (his nephew Prince Rupert being in the head of them,) which were fleshed by their success at Worcester; and if he had made his march that way, he would have been entangled in the inclosures, where his horse would have been less useful; whereas there were many open grounds near the other way, much fitter for an engagement. And so, about the middle of October, the King marched from Shrewsbury, and quartered that night at Bridgenorth, ten miles from the other place, where there was a rendezvous of the whole army, which appeared very cheerful; and thence to Wolverhampton, Bromicham, and Killingworth, a house of the King's, and a very noble seat, where the King rested one day; where the Lord Chief Justice Heath, who was made Chief Justice for that purpose, (Bramston, a man of great learning and integrity, being, without any purpose of disfavour, removed from that office, because he stood bound by recognizance to attend the Parliament, upon an accusation depending there against him,) begun to sit upon a commission of Oyer and Terminer, to attain the Earl of Essex, and many other persons who were in rebellion, of high treason.

Some days had passed without any notice of that army; some reporting that it remained still at Worcester; others, that they were marched the direct way from thence towards London. But intelligence came from London,

“that very many officers of name, and command in the  
 “Parliament army, had undergone that service with a full  
 “resolution to come to the King as soon as they were  
 “within any distance; and it was wished, that the King  
 “would send a proclamation into the army itself, and to  
 “offer pardon to all who would return to their obedience.”

A proclamation was prepared accordingly, and all circumstances resolved upon, that a herald should be sent to proclaim it in the head of the Earl's army, when it should be drawn up in battle. But that, and many other particulars, prepared and resolved upon, were forgotten, or omitted at the time appointed, which would not admit any of those formalities.

When the whole army marched together, there was quickly discovered an unhappy jealousy, and division between the principal officers, which grew quickly into a perfect faction between the foot and the horse. The Earl of Lindsey was General of the whole army by his commission, and thought very equal to it. But when Prince Rupert came to the King, which was after the standard was set up, and received a commission to be General of the horse, which, all men knew, was designed for him, there was a clause inserted into it, exempting him from receiving orders from any body but from the King himself; which, upon the matter, separated all the horse from any dependence upon the General, and had other ill consequences in it: for when the King at midnight, being in his bed, and receiving intelligence of the enemy's motion, commanded the Lord Falkland, his principal Secretary of State, to direct Prince Rupert, what he should do, his Highness took it very ill, and expostulated with the Lord Falkland, for giving him orders. He could not have directed his passion against any man, who would feel or regard it less. He told him, “that it was his office to signify what the King bid him; which he should always do; and that his Highness, in neglecting it, neglected the King;” who did neither the Prince nor his own service any good, by complying in the beginning with his

Faction begun in the King's army.



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rough nature. But the King was so indulgent to him, that he took his advice in all things relating to the army, and upon the deliberation of their march, and the figure of the battle they resolved to fight in with the enemy, he concurred entirely with Prince Rupert's advice, rejecting the opinion of the General, who preferred the order he had learned under Prince Maurice, and Prince Harry, with whom he had served at the same time, when the Earl of Essex and he, both of them, had regiments. The reservedness of the Prince's nature, and the little education he then had in courts, made him unapt to make acquaintance with any of the Lords, who were thereby likewise discouraged from applying themselves to him; whilst some officers of the horse were well pleased to observe that strangeness, and fomented it; believing their credit would be the greater with the Prince, and desiring that no other person should have any credit with the King. So the war was scarce begun, when there appeared such faction and designs in the army, which wise men looked upon as a very evil presage; and the inconveniences, which flowed from thence, gave the King great trouble in a short time after.

The Earl of  
Essex  
marches  
after the  
King.

Within two days after the King marched from Shrewsbury, the Earl of Essex moved from Worcester to attend him, with an army far superior in number to the King's; the horse and foot being completely armed, and the men very well exercised, and the whole equipage (being supplied out of the King's magazines) suitable to an army set forth at the charge of a kingdom. The Earl of Bedford had the name of General of the horse, though that command principally depended upon Sir William Balfour. Of the Nobility he had with him the Lords Kimbolton, Saint-John's, Wharton, Roberts, and the Lords Rochford, and Fielding, (whose fathers, the Earls of Dover, and Denbigh, charged as volunteers in the King's guards of horse,) and many gentlemen of quality; but his train was so very great, that he could move but in slow marches. So that the two armies, though they were but twenty miles asunder, when they first set forth, and both marched

the same way, gave not the least disquiet in ten days' march to each other; and in truth, as it appeared afterwards, neither army knew where the other was.

The King by quick marches, having seldom rested a day in any place, came, on Saturday the twenty-second of October, to Edgcot, a village in Northamptonshire, within four miles of Banbury, in which the rebels had a garrison. As soon as he came thither, he called a council of war, and having no intelligence that the Earl of Essex was within any distance, it was resolved "the King and the army should rest in those quarters the next day, only that Sir Nicholas Byron should march with his brigade, and attempt the taking in of Banbury." With this resolution the council broke up, and all men went to their quarters, which were at a great distance, without any apprehension of an enemy. But that night, about twelve of the clock, Prince Rupert sent the King word, "that the body of the rebels' army was within seven or eight miles, and that the head quarter was at a village called Keinton on the edge of Warwickshire; and that it would be in his Majesty's power, if he thought fit, to fight a battle the next day;" which his Majesty liked well, and therefore immediately dispatched orders to cross the design for Banbury, "and that the whole army should draw to a rendezvous on the top of Edge-hill;" which was a high hill about two miles from Keinton, where the head quarter of the Earl was, which had a clear prospect of all that valley.

In the morning, being Sunday the twenty-third of October, when the rebels were beginning their march, (for they suspected not the King's forces to be near,) they perceived a fair body of horse on the top of that hill, and easily concluded their march was not then to be far. It is certain they were exceedingly surprised, having never had any other confidence of their men, than by the disparity they concluded would be still between their numbers and the King's, the which they found themselves now deceived in. For two of their strongest and best regiments of foot, and one regiment of horse, was a day's

The battle  
of Keinton  
or Edge-  
hill.



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march behind with their ammunition. So that, though they were still superior in number, yet that difference was not so great as they promised themselves. However, it cannot be denied that the Earl, with great dexterity, performed whatsoever could be expected from a wise General. He chose that ground which best liked him. There was between the hill and the town a fair campaign, save that near the town it was narrower, and on the right hand some hedges, and inclosures: so that there he placed musketeers, and not above two regiments of horse, where the ground was narrowest; but on his left wing he placed a body of a thousand horse, commanded by one Ramsey a Scotsman; the reserve of horse, which was a good one, was commanded by the Earl of Bedford, General of their horse, and Sir William Balfour with him. The General himself was with the foot, which were ordered as much to advantage as might be. And in this posture they stood from eight of the clock in the morning.

On the other side, though Prince Rupert was early in the morning with the greatest part of the horse on the top of the hill, which gave the enemy the first alarm of the necessity of fighting, yet the foot were quartered at so great a distance, that many regiments marched seven or eight miles to the rendezvous: so that it was past one of the clock, before the King's forces marched down the hill; the General himself alighted at the head of his own regiment of foot, his son the Lord Willoughby being next to him, with the King's regiment of guards, in which was the King's standard, carried by Sir Edmund Verney, Knight Marshal. The King's right wing of horse was commanded by Prince Rupert, the left wing by Mr. Wilmot, Commissary General of the horse, who was assisted by Sir Arthur Aston with most of the dragoons, because that left wing was opposed to the enemy's right, which had the shelter of some hedges lined with musketeers: and the reserve was committed to Sir John Byron, and consisted indeed only of his own regiment. At the entrance into the field, the King's troop of guards, either provoked by some un-



seasonable scoffs among the soldiery, or out of desire of glory, or both, besought the King, "that he would give them leave to be absent that day from his person, and to charge in the front among the horse;" the which his Majesty consented to. They desired Prince Rupert "to give them that honour which belonged to them;" who accordingly assigned them the first place; which, though they performed their parts with admirable courage, may well be reckoned among the oversights of that day.

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It was near three of the clock in the afternoon, before the battle begun; which, at that time of the year, was so late, that some were of opinion, "that the business should be deferred till the next day." But against that there were many objections; "the King's numbers could not increase, the enemy's might;" for they had not only their garrisons, Warwick, Coventry, and Banbury, within distance, but all that country so devoted to them, that they had all provisions brought to them, without the least trouble; whereas, on the other side, the people were so disaffected to the King's party, that they had carried away, or hid, all their provisions, insomuch as there was neither meat for man or horse; and the very smiths hid themselves, that they might not be compelled to shoe horses, of which in those stony ways there was great need. This proceeded not from any radical malice, or disaffection to the King's cause, or his person; though it is true, that circuit in which this battle was fought, being very much in the interest of the Lord Say, and the Lord Brooke, was the most eminently corrupted of any county in England; but by the reports, and infusions which the other very diligent party had wrought into the people's belief; "that the Cavaliers were of a fierce, bloody, and licentious disposition, and that they committed all manner of cruelty upon the inhabitants of those places where they came, of which robbery was the least;" so that the poor people thought there was no other way to preserve their goods, than by hiding them out of the way; which was confessed by them, when they found how much that information

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had wronged them, by making them so injurious to their friends. And therefore where the army rested a day they found much better entertainment at parting, than when they came; for it will not be denied, that there was no person of honour or quality, who paid not punctually and exactly for what they had; and there was not the least violence or disorder among the common soldiers in their march, which scaped exemplary punishment; so that at Bromicham, a town so generally wicked, that it had risen upon small parties of the King's, and killed or taken them prisoners, and sent them to Coventry, declaring a more peremptory malice to his Majesty than any other place, two soldiers were executed, for having taken some small trifle of no value out of a house, whose owner was at that time in the rebels' army. So strict was the discipline in this army; when the other, without control, practised all the dissoluteness imaginable. But the march was so fast, that the leaving a good reputation behind them, was no harbinger to provide for their better reception in the next quarters. So that their wants were so great, at the time when they came to Edge-hill, that there were very many companies of the common soldiers, who had scarce eaten bread in eight and forty hours before. The only way to cure this was a victory; and therefore the King gave the word, though it was late, the enemy keeping their ground to receive him without advancing at all.

In this hurry, there was an omission of somewhat, which the King intended to have executed before the beginning of the battle. He had caused many proclamations to be printed of pardon to all those soldiers who would lay down their arms, which he resolved, as is said before, to have sent by a herald to the Earl of Essex, and to have found ways to have scattered and dispersed them in that army, as soon as he understood they were within any distance of him. But all men were now so much otherwise busied, that it was not soon enough remembered; and when it was, the proclamations were not at hand; which, by that which follows, might probably have produced a good ef-

fect. For as the right wing of the King's horse advanced to charge the left wing, which was the gross of the enemy's horse, Sir Faithful Fortescue (who, having his fortune and interest in Ireland, was come out of that kingdom to hasten supplies thither, and had a troop of horse raised for him for that service; but as many other of those forces were, so his troop was likewise disposed into that army, and he was now Major to Sir William Waller; he) with his whole troop advanced from the gross of their horse, and discharging all their pistols on the ground, within little more than carabine shot of his own body, presented himself and his troop to Prince Rupert; and immediately, with his Highness, charged the enemy. Whether this sudden accident, as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the same mind, each man looking upon his companion with the same apprehension as upon the enemy, or whether the terror of Prince Rupert, and the King's horse, or all together, with their own evil consciences, wrought upon them, I know not, but that whole wing, having unskilfully discharged their carabines and pistols into the air, wheeled about, the King's horse charging in the flank and rear, and having thus absolutely routed them, pursued them flying; and had the execution of them above two miles.

The left wing, commanded by Mr. Wilmot, had as good success, though they were to charge in worse ground, among hedges, and through gaps and ditches, which were lined with musketeers. But Sir Arthur Aston, with great courage and dexterity, beat off those musketeers with his dragoons; and then the right wing of their horse was as easily routed and dispersed as their left, and those followed the chase as furiously as the other. The reserve seeing none of the enemy's horse left, thought there was nothing more to be done, but to pursue those that fled; and could not be contained by their commanders; but with spurs, and loose reins, followed the chase, which their left wing had led them. And by this means, whilst most men thought the victory unquestionable, the King was in dan-



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ger of the same fate which his predecessor Henry the Third had at the battle of Lewes against his Barons; when his son the Prince, having routed their horse, followed the chase so far, that, before his return to the field, his father was taken prisoner; and so his victory served only to make the misfortunes of that day the more intolerable. For all the King's horse having thus left the field, many of them only following the execution, others intending the spoil in the town of Keinton, where all the baggage was, and the Earl of Essex's own coach, which was taken, and brought away; their reserve, commanded by Sir William Balfour, moved up and down the field in good order, and marching towards the King's foot pretended to be friends, till observing no horse to be in readiness to charge them, they brake in upon the foot, and did great execution. Then was the General the Earl of Lindsey, in the head of his regiment, being on foot, shot in the thigh; with which he fell, and was presently encompassed with the enemy; and his son, the Lord Willoughby, piously endeavouring the rescue of his father, taken prisoner with him. Then was the standard taken, (Sir Edmund Verney, who bore it, being killed,) but rescued again by Captain John Smith, an officer of the Lord Grandison's regiment of horse, and by him brought off. And if those horse had bestirred themselves, they might with little difficulty have destroyed, or taken prisoner, the King himself, and his two sons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, being with fewer than one hundred horse, and those without officer or command, within half musket shot of that body, before he suspected them to be enemies.

When Prince Rupert returned from the chase, he found this great alteration in the field, and his Majesty himself with few noblemen, and a small retinue about him, and the hope of so glorious a day quite vanished. For though most of the officers of horse were returned, and that part of the field covered again with the loose troops, yet they could not be persuaded, or drawn to charge either the enemy's reserve of horse, which alone kept the field, or the

body of their foot, which only kept their ground. The officers pretending, "that their soldiers were so dispersed, "that there were not ten of any troop together;" and the soldiers, "that their horses were so tired, that they could "not charge." But the truth is, where many soldiers of one troop or regiment were rallied together, there the officers were wanting; and where the officers were ready, there the soldiers were not together; and neither officers nor soldiers desired to move without those who properly belonged to them. Things had now so ill an aspect, that many were of opinion, that the King should leave the field, though it was not easy to advise whither he should have gone; which if he had done, he had left an absolute victory to those, who even at this time thought themselves overcome. But the King was positive against this advice, well knowing, that as that army was raised by his person and presence only, so it could by no other means be kept together; and he thought it unprincely, to forsake them who had forsaken all they had to serve him: besides, he observed the other side looked not as if they thought themselves conquerors; for that reserve, which did so much mischief before, since the return of his horse, betook themselves to a fixed station between their foot, which at best could but be thought to stand their ground, which two brigades of the King's did with equal courage, and gave equal volleys; and therefore he tried all possible ways to get the horse to charge again; easily discerning by some little attempts which were made, what a notable impression a brisk one would have made upon the enemy. And when he saw it was not to be done, he was content with their only standing still. Without doubt, if either party had known the constitution of the other, they had not parted so fairly; and, very probably, which soever had made a bold offer, had compassed his end upon his enemy. This made many believe, though the horse vaunted themselves aloud to have done their part, that the good fortune of the first part of the day, which well managed would have secured the rest, was to be imputed rather to their enemy's

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want of courage, than to their own virtue, (which, after so great a victory, could not so soon have forsaken them,) and to the sudden and unexpected revolt of Sir Faithful Fortescue with a whole troop, no doubt much to the consternation of those he left; though they had not so good fortune as they deserved; for by the negligence of not throwing away their orange-tawny scarfs, which they all wore as the Earl of Essex's colours, and being immediately engaged in the charge, many of them, not fewer than seventeen or eighteen, were suddenly killed by those to whom they joined themselves.

In this doubt of all sides, the night, the common friend to wearied and dismayed armies, parted them; and then the King caused his cannon, which were nearest the enemy's, to be drawn off; and with his whole forces himself spent the night in the field, by such a fire as could be made of the little wood, and bushes which grew thereabouts, unresolved what to do the next morning; many reporting, "that the enemy was gone:" but when the day appeared, the contrary was discovered; for then they were seen standing in the same posture and place in which they fought, from whence the Earl of Essex, wisely, never suffered them to stir all that night; presuming reasonably, that if they were drawn off never so little from that place, their numbers would lessen, and that many would run away; and therefore he caused all manner of provisions, with which the country supplied him plentifully, to be brought thither to them for their refreshment, and reposed himself with them in the place; besides, that night he received a great addition of strength, not only by rallying those horse and foot, which had run out of the field in the battle, but by the arrival of Colonel Hambden, and Colonel Grantham, with two thousand fresh foot, (which were reckoned among the best of the army,) and five hundred horse, which marched a day behind the army for the guard of their ammunition, and a great part of their train, not supposing there would have been any action that would have required their presence. All the advantage this sea-



sonable recruit brought them, was to give their old men so much courage as to keep the field, which it was otherwise believed, they would hardly have been persuaded to have done. In the other army, after a very cold night spent in the field, without any refreshment of victual, or provision for the soldiers, (for the country was so disaffected, that it not only not sent in provisions, but soldiers, who straggled into the villages for relief, were knocked in the head by the common people,) the King found his troops very thin; for though, by conference with the officers, he might reasonably conclude, that there were not many slain in the battle, yet a third part of his foot were not upon the place, and of the horse many missing; and they that were in the field were so tired with duty, and weakened with want of meat, and shrunk up with the cruel cold of the night, (for it was a terrible frost, and there was no shelter of either tree or hedge,) that though they had reason to believe, by the standing still of the enemy, whilst a small party of the King's horse, in the morning, took away four pieces of their cannon very near them, that any offer towards a charge, or but marching towards them, would have made a notable impression in them, yet there was so visible an averseness from it in most officers, as well as soldiers, that the King thought not fit to make the attempt; but contented himself to keep his men in order, the body of horse facing the enemy upon the field where they had fought.

Towards noon the King resolved to try that expedient, which was prepared for the day before; and sent Sir William Le Neve, Clarencieux King at Arms, to the enemy, with his proclamation of pardon to such as would lay down arms; believing, though he expected then little benefit by the proclamation, that he should, by that means, receive some advertisement of the condition of the army, and what prisoners they had taken, (for many persons of command and quality were wanting,) giving him order likewise to desire to speak with the Earl of Lindsey, who was known to be in their hands. Before Sir William

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came to the army, he was received by the out-guards, and conducted, with strictness, (that he might say or publish nothing among the soldiers,) to the Earl of Essex; who, when he offered to read the proclamation aloud, and to deliver the effect of it, that he might be heard by those who were present, rebuked him, with some roughness, and charged him, "as he loved his life, not to presume to speak a word to the soldiers;" and, after some few questions, sent him presently back well guarded through the army, without any answer at all. At his return he had so great and feeling a sense of the danger he had passed, that he made little observation of the posture or numbers of the enemy. Only he seemed to have seen, or apprehended so much trouble and disorder in the faces of the Earl of Essex, and the principal officers about him, and so much dejection in the common soldiers, that they looked like men who had no farther ambition, than to keep what they had left. He brought word of the death of the Earl of Lindsey; who, being carried out of the field a prisoner, into a barn of the next village, for want of a surgeon, and such accommodations as were necessary, within few hours died with the loss of blood, his wound not being otherwise mortal or dangerous. This was imputed to the inhumanity of the Earl of Essex, as if he had purposely neglected, or inhibited the performing any necessary offices to him, out of the insolence of his nature, and in revenge of some former unkindnesses, which had passed between them. But, I presume, it may be with more justice attributed to the hurry and distraction of that season, when, being so unsecure of their friends, they had no thoughts vacant for their enemies. For it is not to be denied at the time when the Earl of Lindsey was taken prisoner, the Earl of Essex thought himself in more danger; and among his faults want of civility and courtesy was none.

The number of the slain, by the testimony of the ministers, and others of the next parish, who took care of the burying of the dead, and which was the only computation that could be made, amounted to above five thousand;

whereof two parts were conceived to be of those of the Parliament party, and not above a third part of the King's. Indeed the loss of both sides was so great, and so little of triumph appeared in either, that the victory could scarce be imputed to the one or the other. Yet the King's keeping the field, and having the spoil of it, by which many persons of quality, who had lain wounded in the field, were preserved, his pursuing afterwards the same design he had when he was diverted to the battle, and succeeding in it, (which shall be touched anon,) were greater ensigns of victory on that side, than taking the General prisoner, and the taking the standard, which was likewise recovered, were on the other. Of the King's the principal persons, who were lost, were the Earl of Lindsey, General of the army, the Lord Stewart, Lord Aubigny, son to the Duke of Lenox, and brother to the then Duke of Richmond and Lenox, Sir Edmund Verney, Knight Marshal of the King's Horse, and Standard Bearer, and some others of less name, though of great virtue, and good quality.

The Earl of Lindsey was a man of very noble extraction, and inherited a great fortune from his ancestors; which though he did not manage with so great care, as if he desired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair condition to his family, which more intended the increase of it. He was a man of great honour, and spent his youth and vigour of his age in military actions and commands abroad; and albeit he indulged to himself great liberties of life, yet he still preserved a very good reputation with all men, and a very great interest in his country, as appeared by the supplies he and his son brought to the King's army; the several companies of his own regiment of foot being commanded by the principal Knights and Gentlemen of Lincolnshire, who engaged themselves in the service principally out of their personal affection to him. He was of a very generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that restriction so heavily, which was put upon him by the commission granted to Prince

A character  
of the Earl  
of Lindsey,  
the King's  
General.



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Rupert, and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion, in all matters relating to the war, before his. Nor did he conceal his resentment: the day before the battle, he said to some friends, with whom he had used freedom, "that he did not look upon himself as General; and therefore he was resolved, when the day of battle should come, that he would be in the head of his regiment as a private Colonel, where he would die." He was carried out of the field to the next village; and if he could then have procured surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved mortal. And as soon as the other army was composed by the coming on of the night, the Earl of Essex, about midnight, sent Sir William Balfour, and some other officers, to see him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himself to have visited him. They found him upon a little straw in a poor house, where they had laid him in his blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no surgeon having been yet with him; only he had great vivacity in his looks; and told them, "he was sorry to see so many gentlemen, some whereof were his old friends, engaged in so foul a rebellion;" and principally directed his discourse to Sir William Balfour, whom he put in mind of "the great obligations he had to the King; how much his Majesty had disobliged the whole English nation by putting him into the command of the Tower; and that it was the most odious ingratitude in him to make him that return." He wished them to tell my Lord Essex, "that he ought to cast himself at the King's feet to beg his pardon; which if he did not speedily do, his memory would be odious to the nation;" and continued this kind of discourse with so much vehemence, that the officers by degrees withdrew themselves; and prevented the visit the Earl of Essex intended him, who only sent the best surgeons to him; but in the very opening of his wounds he died before the morning, only upon the loss of blood. He had very many friends, and very few enemies; and died generally lamented.

The Lord Aubigny was a gentleman of great hopes,

of a gentle and winning disposition, and of very clear courage: he was killed in the first charge with the horse; where, there being so little resistance, gave occasion to suspect that it was done by his own Lieutenant, who was a Dutchman, and had not been so punctual in his duty, but that he received some reprehension from his Captain, which he murmured at. His body was brought off, and buried at Christ-Church in Oxford; his two younger brothers, the Lord John and the Lord Bernard Stewart, were in the same battle, and were afterwards both killed in the war, and his only son is now Duke of Richmond. Sir Edmund Verney hath been mentioned before; he was a person of great honour and courage, and lost his life in that charge, when Balfour, with that reserve of horse, which had been so long undiscerned, broke into those regiments; but his body was not found.

Of the Parliament party that perished, the Lord Saint-John's of Bletnezo, and Charles Essex, were of the best quality. The last had been bred up a page under the Earl of Essex, who afterwards, at his charge, preferred him to a command in Hólland; where he lived with very good reputation, and preserved the credit of his decayed family: and as soon as the Earl unfortunately accepted this command, he thought his gratitude obliged him to run the fortune of his patron, and out of pure kindness to the person of the Earl, as many other gentlemen did, engaged himself against the King without any malice or rebellion in his heart towards the Crown. He had the command of a regiment of foot, and was esteemed the best and most expert officer of the army, and was killed by a musket shot in the beginning of the battle. The Lord Saint-John's was eldest son to the Earl of Bullingbroke, and got himself so well beloved by the reputation of his courtesy and civility, which he expressed towards all men, that though his parts of understanding were very ordinary at best, and his course of life licentious and very much depraved, he got credit enough, by engaging the principal gentlemen of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire to be bound for him, to

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contract a debt of fifty or threescore thousand pounds; for the payment whereof the fortune of the family was not engaged, nor in his power to engage. So that the clamour of his debts growing importunate, some years before the rebellion, he left the kingdom, and fled into France; leaving his vast debt to be paid by his sureties, to the utter ruin of many families, and the notable impairing of others. In the beginning of the Parliament, the King was prevailed with to call him to the House of Peers, his father being then alive, upon an assurance, "that by his presence and liberty, which could by no other way be secured, means would be found out to pay his debts, and free so many worthy persons from their engagements: besides that the times being like to be troublesome, the King might be sure of a faithful servant, who would always advance his service in that House." But the King had very ill fortune in conferring those graces, nor was his service more passionately and insolently opposed by any men in that House than by those, who upon those professions were advanced by him from the condition of Commoners. And this gentleman, from the first hour of his sitting in that House by the King's so extraordinary grace, was never known to concur in any one vote for the King's service, that received any opposition: and, as soon as it was in his power, he received a commission with the first to command a troop of horse against him, in which he behaved himself so ill, that he received some wounds in running away; and being taken prisoner, died before the next morning, without any other signs of repentance, than the canting words, "that he did not intend to be against the King, but wished him all happiness:" so great an influence the first seeds of his birth had upon his nature, that how long soever they were concealed, and seemed even buried in a very different breeding and conversation, they sprung up, and bore the same fruit upon the first occasion. And it was an observation of that time, that the men of most licentious lives, who appeared to be without any sense of religion, or reverence to virtue, and the most unrestrained



by any obligations of conscience, betook themselves to that party, and pretended an impulse of religion out of fear of Popery; and, on the other side, very many persons of quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, who had suffered under the imputation of Puritanism, and did very much dislike the proceedings of the Court, and opposed them upon all occasions, were yet so much scandalized at the very approaches to rebellion, that they renounced all their old friends, and applied themselves with great resolution, courage, and constancy to the King's service, and continued in it to the end, with all the disadvantages it was liable to.

Prisoners taken by the enemy were, the Lord Willoughby, hastily and piously endeavouring the rescue of his father; Sir Thomas Lunsford, and Sir Edward Stradling, both Colonels; and Sir William Vavasour, who commanded the King's regiment of guards under the Lord Willoughby; and some other inferior commanders. There were hurt, Sir Jacob Ashley, and Sir Nicholas Byron, and more dangerously, Colonel Charles Gerrard, who, being shot in the thigh, was brought off the field without any hopes of life, but recovered to act a great part afterwards in the war; Sir George Strode, and some other gentlemen who served among the foot; for of the horse there was not an officer of name, who received a wound, the Lord Aubigny only excepted; so little resistance did that part of the enemy make. Of the rebels there were slain, besides the Lord Saint-John's, Colonel Charles Essex, the soldier of whom they had the best opinion, and who had always, till this last action, preserved a good reputation in the world, which was now the worse, over and above the guilt of rebellion, by his having sworn to the Queen of Bohemia, by whose intercession he procured leave from the Prince of Orange to go into England, "that he would never serve against the King:" and many other of obscure names, though officers of good command. There were a good number of their officers, especially of horse, taken prisoners, but (save that some of them were Parliament men) of

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mean quality in the world, except only Sir William Essex, the father of the Colonel, whose wants, from having wasted a very great fortune, and his son's invitation, led him into that company; where he was a private captain of his regiment.

When the armies had thus only looked one upon another the whole day, and it being discerned that the enemy had drawn off his carriages, the King directed all his army to retire into their old quarters, presuming (as it proved) that many of those who were wanting would be found there. And so himself with his two sons went to Edgecot, where he lay the night before the battle, resolving to rest the next day, both for the refreshing his wearied, and even tired men, and to be informed of the motion and condition of the enemy, upon which some troops of the King's horse attended. The Earl of Essex retired with his to Warwick Castle, whither he had sent all his prisoners; so that, on the Tuesday morning, the King was informed, that the enemy was gone, and that some of his horse had attended the rear of the enemy almost to Warwick, and that they had left many of their carriages, and very many of their wounded soldiers, at the village next to the field; by which it appeared that their remove was in haste, and not without apprehension.

After the horse had marched almost to Warwick, and found the coast clear from the enemy, they returned to the field to view the dead bodies, many going to inquire after their friends who were missing, where they found many not yet dead of their wounds, but lying stripped among the dead; among whom, with others, young Mr. Scroop brought off his father, Sir Gervas Scroop; who, being an old gentleman of great fortune in Lincolnshire, had raised a foot company among his tenants, and brought them into the Earl of Lindsey's regiment, out of devotion and respect to his Lordship, as well as duty to the King; and had, about the time that the General was taken, fallen with sixteen wounds in his body and head; and had lain stripped among the dead, from that time, which was about

three in the afternoon on Sunday, all that cold night, all Monday, and Monday night, and till Tuesday evening, for it was so late before his son found him; whom with great piety he carried to a warm lodging, and afterwards to Oxford; where he wonderfully recovered. The next morning after, being Wednesday, there was another gentleman, one Bellingham, of an ancient extraction, and the only son of his father, found among the dead, and brought off by his friends, with twenty wounds; who, after ten days, died at Oxford, by the negligence of his surgeons, who left a wound in his thigh, of itself not dangerous, undiscerned, and so by festering destroyed a body very hopefully recovered of those which were only thought mortal. The surgeons were of opinion, that both these gentlemen owed their lives to the inhumanity of those who stripped them, and to the coldness of the nights, which stopped their blood, better than all their skill and medicaments could have done; and that, if they had been brought off within any reasonable distance of time after their wounds, they had undoubtedly perished.

On Wednesday morning, the King drew his army to a rendezvous, where he found his numbers greater than he expected; for, in the night after the battle, very many of the common soldiers, out of cold and hunger, had found their old quarters. So that it was really believed upon this view, when this little rest had recovered a strange cheerfulness into all men, that there were not in that battle lost above three hundred men at most. There the King declared General Ruthen General of his army in the place of the Earl of Lindsey; and then marched to Ayno, a little village two miles distant from Banbury, of which his Majesty that day took a view, and meant to attempt it the next day following. There was at that time in Banbury Castle a regiment of eight hundred foot, and a troop of horse, which, with spirits proportionable, had been enough to have kept so strong a place from an army better prepared to have assaulted it, than the King's then was, and at a season of the year more commodious for a siege. And there-



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Banbury  
Castle sur-  
rendered to  
the King.

fore many were of opinion, that the King should have marched by it, without taking notice of it, and that the engaging before it might prove very prejudicial to him. That which prevailed with him to stay there, besides the courage of his soldiers, who had again recovered their appetite to action, was that he could not well resolve whither to go; for till he was informed what the Earl of Essex did, he knew not how to direct his march; and if the enemy advanced upon him, he could not fight in a place of more advantage. And therefore, having sent a trumpet to summon the Castle, and having first taken the Lord Say's house at Broughton, where there was some shew of resistance, and in it a troop of horse, and some good arms, the cannon were planted against the Castle, and the army drawn out before it; but, upon the first shot made, the Castle sent to treat, and, upon leave to go away without their arms, they fairly and kindly delivered the place; and half the common soldiers at the least readily took conditions, and put themselves into the King's army; the rest of the arms came very seasonably to supply many soldiers of every regiment, who either never had any before, or had lost them at the battle.

This last success declared where the victory was before at Edgehill; for, though the routing of their horse, the having killed more upon the place, and taken more prisoners, the number of the colours won from the enemy, (which were near forty in number,) without the loss of above three or four, and lastly the taking four pieces of their cannon the next morning after the battle, were so many arguments that the victory inclined to the King: on the other side, the loss of the General himself, and so many men of name either killed or taken prisoners, who were generally known over the kingdom, (whereas, besides the Lord Saint-John's, and Colonel Essex, the names of the rest of that party were so obscure, that neither the one side seemed to be gainers by having taken or killed them, nor the other side to be losers by being without them,) the having kept the field last, were sufficient testi-

monies at the least that they were not overcome. But now the taking of Banbury, which was the more signal, by the circumstances of that part of the army's being, before the battle, designed for that service, then recalled to the field, and after that field fought, and the retreat of the enemy, the readvancing upon it, and taking it, was so undeniable an argument that the Earl of Essex was more broken and scattered than at first he appeared to be, that the King's army was looked upon as victorious. A garrison was put into Banbury, and the command thereof committed to the Earl of Northampton, and then the King marched to his own house at Woodstock; and the next day with the whole army to Oxford, which was the only city of England, that he could say was entirely at his devotion; where he was received by the University, to whom the integrity and fidelity of that place is to be imputed, with all joy and acclamation.

The Earl of Essex continued still at Warwick, repairing his broken regiments and troops, which every day lessened and impaired; for the number of his slain men was greater than it was reported to be, there being very many killed in the chase, and many who died of their wounds after they were carried off, and, of those, who run away in the beginning, more stayed away than returned; and, which was more, they who run farthest and fastest told such lamentable stories of the defeat, and many of them shewed such hurts, that the terror thereof was even ready to make the people revolt to their allegiance in all places. Many of those who had stood their ground, and behaved themselves well in the battle, either with remorse of conscience, horror of what they had done, and seen, or weariness of the duty and danger, withdrew themselves from their colours, and some from their commands: And it is certain many engaged themselves first in that service, out of an opinion, that an army would procure a peace without fighting; others out of a desire to serve the King, and resolving to go away themselves, and to carry others with them, as soon as they should find themselves within a se-

The condition of the Earl of Essex's army after the fight.



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cure distance to do it; both these being, contrary to their expectation, brought to fight, the latter not knowing how to get to the King's army in the battle, discharged themselves of the service as soon as they came to Warwick; some with leave, and some without. But that which no doubt most troubled his Excellency, was the temper and constitutions of his new masters; who, he knew, expected no less from him than a victory complete, by his bringing the person of the King alive or dead to them; and would consider what was now fallen out, as it was so much less than they looked for, not as it was more than any body else could have done for them. However, he gave them a glorious account of what had passed, and made as if his stay at Warwick were rather to receive new orders and commands from them, than out of any weakness or inability to pursue the old, and that he attended the King's motion as well as if he had been within seven miles of him.

It is certain the consternation was very great at London, and in the two Houses, from the time that they heard, that the King marched from Shrewsbury with a formed army, and that he was resolved to fight, as soon as he could meet with theirs. However, they endeavoured to keep up confidently the ridiculous opinion among the common people, that the King did not command, but was carried about in that army of the Cavaliers, and was desirous to escape from them; which they hoped the Earl of Essex would give him opportunity to do. The first news they heard of the army's being engaged, was by those who fled upon the first charge; who made marvellous haste from the place of danger, and thought not themselves safe, till they were gotten out of any possible distance of being pursued. It is certain, though it was past two of the clock before the battle begun, many of the soldiers, and some commanders of no mean name, were at St. Alban's, which was near thirty miles from the field, before it was dark. These men, as all runaways do for their own excuse, reported all for lost, and the King's army to be so terrible, that it could not be encountered. Some of them, that they might



not be thought to come away before there was cause, or whilst there was any hope, reported the progress of the battle, and presented all those lamentable things, and the circumstances by which every part of the army was defeated, which their terrified fancies had suggested to them whilst they run away; some had seen the Earl of Essex slain, and heard his dying words; "That every one should "shift for himself, for all resistance was to no purpose:" so that the whole city was, the Monday, full of the defeat; and though there was an express, from the Earl of Essex himself, of the contrary, there was not courage enough left to believe it, and every hour produced somewhat to contradict the reports of the last. Monday in the afternoon, the Earl of Holland produced a letter in the House of Peers, which was written the night before by the Earl of Essex, in which all particulars of the day were set down, and "the impression which had in the beginning been made "upon his horse, but that the conclusion was prosperous." Whilst this was reading, and every man greedily digesting the good news, the Lord Hastings, who had a command of horse in the service, entered the House with frightened and ghastly looks, and positively declared "all to "be lost, against whatsoever they believed or flattered "themselves with." And though it was evident enough that he had run away from the beginning, and only lost his way thither, most men looked upon him as the last messenger, and even shut their ears against any possible comfort; so that without doubt very many, in the horror and consternation of eight and forty hours, paid and underwent a full penance and mortification for the hopes and insolence of three months before. At the last, on Wednesday morning, the Lord Wharton, and Mr. William Strode, the one a Member of the House of Lords, the other of the Commons, arrived from the army, and made so full a relation of the battle, "of the great numbers slain on the King's "part, without any considerable loss on their side, of the "miserable and weak condition the King's army was in, "and of the Earl of Essex's resolution to pursue him,"

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“ that their army had the victory ;” and appointed a day for a solemn thanksgiving to God for the same ; and, that so great a joy might not be enjoyed only within those walls, they appointed those two trusty messengers to communicate the whole relation with all circumstances to the city ; which was convened together at the Guildhall to receive the same. But by this time, so many persons, who were present at the action, came to the town of both sides, (for there was yet a free intercourse with all quarters,) and some discourses were published, how little either of these two messengers had seen themselves of that day’s business, that the city seemed not so much exalted at their relations, as the Houses had been ; the King’s taking Banbury, and marching afterwards to Oxford, and the reports from those parts of his power, with the Earl of Essex’s lying still at Warwick, gave great argument of discourse ; which grew the greater by the commitment of several persons, for reporting, “ that the King had the better of the field ;” which men thought would not have been, if the success had been contrary ; and therefore there was nothing so generally spoken of, or wished for, as peace.

They who were really well affected to the King, and from the beginning opposed all the extravagances, for of such there were many in both Houses, who could not yet find in their hearts to leave the company, spake now aloud, “ that an humble address to the King for the removal of “ all misunderstandings was both in duty necessary, and “ in policy convenient.” The half-hearted and half-witted people, which made much the major part of both Houses, plainly discerned there must be a war, and that the King at least would be able to make resistance, which they had been promised he could not do, and so were equally passionate to make any overtures for accommodation. They only who had contrived the mischief, and already had digested a full change and alteration of government, and knew well, that all their arts would be discovered, and their persons odious, though they might be secured, vio-



lently opposed all motions of this kind. These men pressed earnestly “to send an express to their brethren of Scotland, to invite and conjure them to come to their assistance, and to leave no way unthought of for suppressing, and totally destroying, all those who had presumed to side with the King.” This overture of calling the Scots in again was as unpopular a thing, as could be mentioned; besides that it implied a great and absolute diffidence in their own strength, and an acknowledgment that the people of England stood not so generally affected to their desires, which they had hitherto published, and urged, as the best argument to justify those desires. Therefore the wise managers of that party, by whose conduct they had been principally governed, seemed fully to concur with those who desired peace, “and to send an humble address to the King, which they confessed to be due from them as subjects, and the only way to procure happiness for the kingdom.” And having hereby rendered themselves gracious, and gained credit, they advised them “so to endeavour peace, that they might not be disappointed of it,” and wished them “to consider that the King’s party were high upon the success of having an army, (of which they had reasonably before despaired,) though not upon any thing that army had yet done. That it was apparent, the King had ministers stirring for him in the north, and in the west, though hitherto with little effect; and therefore if they should make such an application for peace, as might imply the giving over the thoughts of war, they must expect such a peace, as the mercy of those whom they had provoked would consent to. But if they would steadily pursue those counsels as would make their strength formidable, they might then expect such moderate conditions, as they might, with their own, and the kingdom’s safety, securely submit to. That therefore the proposition of sending into Scotland was very seasonable; not that it could be hoped, or was desired, that they should bring an army into England, of which there was not like to be any



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“ need ; but that that kingdom might make such a declaration of their affections, and readiness to assist the Parliament, that the King might look upon them with the more consideration, as a body not easily to be oppressed, if he should insist upon too high conditions.”

By this artifice, whilst they who pressed a treaty thought, that, that being once consented to, a peace would inevitably be concluded, the same day that a committee was appointed, “ to prepare heads of an humble address unto his Majesty, for composing the present differences and distractions, and settling the peace of the kingdom,” (which was a great condescension,) they made no scruple to declare, “ that the preparations of forces, and all other necessary means for defence, should be prosecuted with all vigour ;” and thereupon required “ all those officers and soldiers, who had left their General, of which the town was then full, upon pain of death, to return to him ;” and, for his better recruit, solemnly declared, “ that, in such times of common danger and necessity, the interest of private persons ought to give way to the public ; and therefore they ordained, that such apprentices, as would be listed to serve as soldiers for the defence of the kingdom, the Parliament, and city, (with their other usual expressions of religion, and the King’s person,) their sureties, and such as stood engaged for them, should be secured against their masters ; and that their masters should receive them again, at the end of their service, without imputing any loss of time to them, but the same should be reckoned as well spent, according to their indentures, as if they had been still in their shops.” And by this means many children were engaged in that service, not only against the consent, but against the persons, of their fathers, and the Earl received a notable supply thereby.

Apprentices invited by the Parliament to take arms.

Then, in return for their consent that a formal and perfunctory message should be sent to his Majesty, whereby they thought a treaty would be entered upon, they procured at the same time, and as an expedient for peace, this

material and full declaration of both Houses to the subjects of Scotland, which they caused with all expedition to be sent into that kingdom. BOOK VI.

“ We the Lords and Commons, assembled in the Parliament of England, considering with what wisdom, and public affection, our brethren of the kingdom of Scotland did concur with the endeavours of this Parliament, and the desires of the whole kingdom, in procuring and establishing a firm peace and amity between the two nations, and how lovingly they have since invited us to a nearer and higher degree of union in matters concerning religion, and church-government, which we have most willingly and affectionately embraced, and intend to pursue, cannot doubt but they will, with as much forwardness and affection, concur with us in settling peace in this kingdom, and preserving it in their own; that so we may mutually reap the benefit of that amity and alliance, so happily made, and strongly confirmed betwixt the two nations. Wherefore, as we did about a year since, in the first appearance of trouble then beginning among them, actually declare, that, in our sense and apprehension of the national alliance betwixt us, we were thereby bound to apply the authority of Parliament, and power of this kingdom, to the preservation and maintenance of their peace: and, seeing now that the troubles of this kingdom are grown to a greater height, and the subtle practices of the common enemies of the religion and liberty of both nations do appear with more evident strength and danger than they did at that time, we hold it necessary to declare, that, in our judgment, the same obligation lies upon our brethren, by the aforementioned act, with the power and force of that kingdom, to assist us in repressing those among us, who are now in arms, and make war, not only without consent of Parliament, but even against the Parliament, and for the destruction thereof.

The two Houses' declaration to the subjects of Scotland.

“ Wherefore we have thought good to make known unto our brethren, that his Majesty hath given commis-

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“ sion to divers eminent and known Papists, to raise  
“ forces, and to compose an army in the north, and other  
“ parts of this kingdom, which is to join with divers fo-  
“ reign forces, intended to be transported from beyond the  
“ seas, for the destruction of this Parliament, and of the  
“ religion and liberty of the kingdom: and that the prin-  
“ cipal part of the Clergy and their adherents have likewise  
“ invited his Majesty to raise another army, which, in his  
“ own person, he doth conduct against the Parliament, and  
“ the city of London, plundering and robbing sundry well  
“ affected towns within their power; and, in prosecution  
“ of their malice, they were so presumptuous, and predomi-  
“ nant of his Majesty’s resolutions, that they forbear not  
“ those outrages in places to which his Majesty hath given  
“ his royal word and protection; a great cause and incen-  
“ tive of which malice proceeds from the design they have  
“ to hinder the reformation of ecclesiastical government in  
“ this kingdom, so much longed for by all the true lovers  
“ of the Protestant religion.

“ And hereupon we farther desire our brethren of the  
“ nation of Scotland, to raise such forces as they shall  
“ think sufficient for securing the peace of their own bor-  
“ ders, against the ill affected persons there, as likewise to  
“ assist us in suppressing the army of Papists and fo-  
“ reigners; which, as we expect, will shortly be on foot  
“ here, and, if they be not timely prevented, may prove as  
“ mischievous and destructive to that kingdom, as to our-  
“ selves. And though we seek nothing from his Majesty  
“ that may diminish his just authority, or honour, and  
“ have, by many humble petitions, endeavoured to put an  
“ end to this unnatural war and combustion in the king-  
“ dom, and to procure his Majesty’s protection, and se-  
“ curity for our religion, liberty, and persons, (according  
“ to that great trust which his Majesty is bound to by  
“ the laws of the land,) and shall still continue to renew  
“ our petitions in that kind; yet, to our great grief, we  
“ see the Papistical and Malignant council so prevalent  
“ with his Majesty, and his person so engaged to their



“ power, that we have little hope of better success of our  
 “ petitions than we formerly had; and are thereby neces- BOOK  
 “ sitated to stand upon our just defence, and to seek this VI.  
 “ speedy and powerful assistance of our brethren of Scot-  
 “ land, according to that act agreed upon in the Parlia-  
 “ ment of both kingdoms, the common duty of Christian-  
 “ ity, and the particular interests of their own kingdom:  
 “ to which we hope God will give such a blessing, that it  
 “ may produce the preservation of religion, the honour,  
 “ safety, and peace of his Majesty, and all his subjects,  
 “ and a more strict conjunction of the counsels, designs,  
 “ and endeavours of both nations, for the comfort and re-  
 “ lief of the Reformed Churches beyond sea.”

It will not be here unseasonable to take some short sur- The condi-  
 vey of the affections and inclinations of Scotland; the or- tion and  
 dering and well disposing whereof, either side sufficiently inclina-  
 understood, would be of moment, and extraordinary im- tions of the  
 portance in the growing contention. From the time of kingdom of  
 the King's being last there, when he had so fully complied Scotland at  
 with all they had desired, both for the public government, that time.  
 and their private advancements, that kingdom within itself  
 enjoyed as much quiet and tranquillity as they could desire;  
 having the convenience of disburdening themselves of  
 their late army into Ireland, whither their old General Les-  
 lie, then made Earl of Leven, was employed in his full  
 command by the King and the two Houses, at the charge  
 of England. So that many believed they had been so  
 abundantly satisfied with what they had already gotten  
 from England, that they had no farther projects upon this  
 kingdom, but meant to make their fortunes by a new con-  
 quest in Ireland, where they had a very great part of the  
 province of Ulster planted by their own nation. So that,  
 according to their rules of good husbandry, they might ex-  
 pect whatsoever they got from the rebels to keep for them-  
 selves. And the King himself was so confident that the  
 affections of that people could not be so corrupted towards  
 him, as to make a farther attempt upon him, that he be-

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lieved them, to a degree, sensible of their former breach of duty, and willing to repair it by any service. Leslie himself had made great acknowledgments, and great professions to him, and had told him, "That it was nothing to "promise him, that he would never more bear arms "against him; but he promised he would serve his Majesty upon any summons, without asking the cause." The Earl of Lowden, and all the rest, who had misled the people, were possessed of whatsoever they could desire, and the future fortune of that nation seemed to depend wholly upon the keeping up the King's full power in this.

His Majesty had, from time to time, given his council of that kingdom full relations of all his differences with his Parliament, and had carefully sent them the declarations, and public passages of both sides; and they had always returned very ample expressions of their affections and duty, and expressed a great sense of the Parliament's proceedings towards him. And since the time of his being at York, the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, in whose integrity and loyalty he was least secure, had been with him; and seemed so well satisfied with the justice and honour of his Majesty's carriage towards the Parliament, that he writ to the Scottish Commissioners at London, in the name, and as by the direction of the Lords of the Secret Council of that kingdom, "that they should present to "the two Houses the deep sense they had of the injuries "and indignities, which were offered to the King, whose "just rights they were bound to defend; and that they "should conjure them to bind up those wounds which "were made, and not to widen them by sharpness of language; and to give his Majesty such real security for his "safety among them, by an effectual declaring against tumults, and such other actions as were justly offensive to "his Majesty, that he might be induced to reside nearer "to them, and comply with them in such propositions as "should be reasonably made;" with many such expressions, as together with his return into Scotland without

coming to London, where he was expected, gave them so much offence and jealousy, that they never communicated that letter to the Houses, and took all possible care to conceal it from the people.

The Marquis Hamilton had been likewise with his Majesty at York, and finding the eyes of all men directed towards him with more than ordinary jealousy, he offered the King to go into Scotland, with many assurances and undertakings, confident "that he would at least keep that people from doing any thing, that might seem to countenance the carriage of the Parliament." Upon which promises, and to be rid of him at York, where he was by all men looked upon with marvellous prejudice, the King suffered him to go, with full assurance that he would, and he was sure he could, do him very good service there: as, on the other side, in his own court he was so great an offence, that the whole gentry of Yorkshire, who no doubt had infusions to that purpose from others, had a design to have petitioned the King, that the Marquis might be sequestered from all councils, and presence at Court, as a man too much trusted by them who would not trust his Majesty.

Lastly, the King had many of the Nobility of Scotland then attending, and among those the Earl of Calander, who had been Lieutenant-General of the Scottish army, when it invaded England, and had freely confessed to his Majesty, upon what errors and mistakes he had been corrupted, and by whom, and pretended so deep a sense of what he had done amiss, that it was believed he would have taken command in the King's army; which he declined, as if it might have been penal to him in Scotland by some clause in the Act of the Pacification, but especially upon pretence it would disable him from doing him greater service in that kingdom: whither, shortly after the standard was set up, he repaired, with all solemn vows of asserting and improving his Majesty's interest in those parts.

The Parliament on the other hand assured themselves, that that nation was entirely theirs, having their commis-



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sioners residing with them at London ; and the chief managers and governors in the first war, by their late intercourse, and communication of guilt, having a firm correspondence with the Marquis of Argyle, the Earl of Lowden, and that party, who, being not able to excuse themselves, thought the King could never in his heart forgive them, when it should be in his power to bring them to justice. And they undertook that when there should be need of that nation, (which the other thought there would never be,) they should be as forward to second them as they had been ; in the mean time returned as fair and respective answers to all their messages, and upon their declarations, which were constantly sent to them, as they did to the King ; assisting them in their design against the Church, which was not yet grown popular, even in the two Houses, by declaring “ that the people of that nation could never “ be engaged on any other ground, than the reformation “ of religion.” And therefore, about the beginning of August, the assembly of the Kirk of Scotland published a declaration ; “ how exceedingly grieved they were, and “ made heavy, that in so long a time, against the professions both of King and Parliament, and contrary to the “ joint desires and prayers of the godly in both kingdoms, “ to whom it was more dear and precious than what was “ dearest to them in the world, the reformation of religion “ had moved so slowly, and suffered so great interruption.”

The ground of which reproach was this : in the late treaty of peace, the commissioners for Scotland had expressed a desire or wish warily couched in words, rather than a proposition, “ that there were such an unity of religion, and uniformity of Church-government agreed on, “ as might be a special means for conserving of peace betwixt the two kingdoms :” to which there had been a general inclination to return a rough answer, and reproof for their intermeddling in any thing that related to the laws of England. But, by the extraordinary industry and subtlety of those, who saw that business was not yet ripe,

and who alleged, that it was only wished, not proposed, and therefore that a sharp reply was not merited, this gentle answer, against the minds of very many, was returned :

“ That his Majesty, with the advice of both Houses of Parliament, did approve of the affection of his subjects of Scotland, in their desire of having conformity of Church-government between the two nations ; and as the Parliament had already taken into consideration the reformation of Church-government, so they would proceed therein in due time, as should best conduce to the glory of God, the peace of the Church, and of both kingdoms.”

Which was consented to by most, as a civil answer, signifying, or concluding nothing ; by others, because it admitted an interpretation of reducing the government of the Church in Scotland to this of England, as much as the contrary. But it might have been well discerned, that those men asked nothing without a farther design than the words naturally imported, nor ever rested satisfied with a general formal answer, except they found, that they should hereafter make use, and receive benefit by such answer. So they now urged the matter of this answer, as a sufficient title to demand the extirpation of prelacy in England, and demolishing the whole fabric of that glorious Church ; urging his Majesty's late practice, while he was in person in Scotland, in resorting frequently to their exercises of public worship ; and his royal actions, in establishing the worship and government of that Kirk in Parliament. And therefore they desired the Parliament “ to begin their work of reformation at the uniformity of Kirk-government ; for that there could be no hope of unity in religion, of one confession of faith, one form of worship, and one catechism, till there were first one form of Church-government ; and that the kingdom, and Kirk of Scotland, could have no hope of a firm and durable peace, till prelacy, which had been the main cause of their miseries and troubles, first and last, were plucked up root and branch, as a plant which God had

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“not planted, and from which no better fruits could be expected, than such sour grapes, as at that day set on edge the kingdom of England.”

Which declaration the Lords of the Secret Council, finding, as they said, “the reasons therein expressed to be very pregnant, and the particulars desired, much to conduce to the glory of God, the advancement of the true Christian faith, his Majesty’s honour, and the peace and union of his dominions,” well approved of; and concurred in their earnest desires to the two Houses of Parliament, “to take to their serious considerations those particulars, and to give favourable hearing to such desires and overtures, as should be found most conducive to the promoting so great and so good a work.”

This being sent to the Parliament at the time they were forming their army, and when the King was preparing for his defence, they who, from the beginning, had principally intended this confusion of the Church, insinuated “how necessary it was, speedily to return a very affectionate and satisfactory reply to the kingdom of Scotland; not only to preserve the reputation of unity and consent between them, which, at that time, was very useful to them, but to hinder the operations of the disaffected in that kingdom; who, upon infusions that the Parliament only aimed at taking his Majesty’s regal rights from him, to the prejudice of monarchique government, without any thought of reforming religion, endeavoured to pervert the affections of that people towards the Parliament. Whereas, if they were once assured there was a purpose to reform religion, they should be sure to have their hearts; and, if occasion required, their hands too; which possibly might be seduced for the King, if that purpose were not manifested. Therefore, for the present, they should do well to return their hearty thanks for, and their brotherly acceptance and approbation of the desires and advice of that Christian assembly, and of the Lords of the Council; and that though, for the present, by reason of the King’s distance from the Parlia-



“ment, they could not settle any conclusion in that matter, yet for their parts they were resolved to endeavour it.”

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By this artifice and invention, they procured a declaration from the two Houses of Parliament, of wonderful kindness, and confession of many inconveniences and mischiefs the kingdom had sustained by Bishops; and therefore they declared, “that that hierarchical government was evil, and justly offensive, and burdensome to the kingdom; a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion; very prejudicial to the state and government of the kingdom; and that they were resolved, that the same should be taken away; and that their purpose was to consult with godly and learned Divines, that they might not only remove that, but settle such a government, as might be most agreeable to God’s holy word; most apt to procure and conserve the peace of the Church at home, and happy union with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed Churches abroad; and to establish the same by a law, which they intended to frame for that purpose, to be presented to his Majesty for his royal assent; and in the mean time to beseech him, that a bill for the assembly might be passed in time convenient for their meeting;” the two Houses having extra-judicially and extravagantly nominated their own Divines to that purpose, as is before remembered.

It was then believed by many, and the King was persuaded to believe the same, that all those importunities from Scotland concerning the government of the Church were used only to preserve themselves from being pressed by the Parliament, to join with them against the King; imagining that this kingdom would never have consented to such an alteration; and they again pretending, that no other obligation could unite that people in their service. But it is most certain, this last declaration was procured by persuading men, “that it was for the present necessary, and that it was only an engagement to do their best to persuade his Majesty, who they concluded would be inexorable in the point,” (which they seemed not to

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be sorry for,) “ and that a receding from such a conclusion “ would be a means to gratify his Majesty in a treaty.” At worst, they all knew, that there would be room enough, when any bill should be brought in, to oppose what they had, for this reason of state, seemed generally to consent to. And so by these stratagems, thinking to be too hard for each other, they grew all so entangled, that they still wound themselves deeper into those labyrinths, in which the major part meant not to be involved. And what effect that declaration of the two Houses, after the battle of Edge-hill, which is mentioned before, wrought, will very shortly appear.

The King  
at Oxford  
recruits his  
army.

The King found himself in good ease at Oxford, where care was taken for providing for the sick and wounded soldiers, and for the accommodation of the army, which was, in a short time, recruited there in a good measure; and the several Colleges presented his Majesty with all the money they had in their treasuries, which amounted to a good sum, and was a very seasonable supply, as they had formerly sent him all their plate. It had been very happy, if the King had continued his resolution of sitting still during the winter, without making farther attempts; for his reputation was now great, and his army believed to be much greater than it was, by the victory they had obtained, and the Parliament grew more divided into factions, and dislike of what they had done, and the city appeared fuller of discontent, and less inclined to be imposed upon, than they had been: so that on all hands nothing was pressed, but that some address might be made to the King for an accommodation; which temper and disposition might have been cultivated, as many men thought, to great effects, if no farther approaches had been made to London, to shew them how little cause they had for their great fear. But the weather growing fair again, as it often is about Allholantide, and a good party of horse having been sent out from Abingdon, where the head quarter of the horse was, they advanced farther than they had order to do, and upon their approach to Reading, where Harry Martin was go-

vernor for the Parliament, there was a great terror seized upon them, insomuch as governor and garrison fled to London, and left the place to the party of horse; which gave advertisement to the King, "that all fled before them; that the Earl of Essex remained still at Warwick, having no army to march; and that there were so great divisions in the Parliament, that, upon his Majesty's approach, they would all fly; and that nothing could interrupt him from going to Whitehall. However, Reading itself was so good a post, that if the King should find it necessary to make his own residence in Oxford, it would be much the better by having a garrison at Reading."

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The garrison of the Parliament at Reading quitting it, the King marches thither.

Upon these and other motives, besides the natural credulity in men, in believing all they wish to be true, the King was prevailed with to march with his army to Reading. This alarm quickly came to London, and was received with the deepest horror: they now unbelieved all which had been told them from their own army; that army, which, they were told, was well beaten and scattered, was now advanced within thirty miles of London; and the Earl of Essex, who pretended to the victory, and who they supposed was watching the King, that he might not escape from him, could not be heard of, and continued still at Warwick. Whilst the King was at Nottingham, and Shrewsbury, they gave orders magisterially for the war: but now it was come to their own doors, they took not that delight in it.

Before they were resolved what to say, they dispatched a messenger, who found the King at Reading, only to desire "a safe conduct from his Majesty for a committee of Lords and Commons, to attend his Majesty with an humble petition from his Parliament." The King presently returned his answer, "that he had always been, and was still, ready to receive any petition from them; that their committee should be welcome, provided it consisted of persons, who had not been by name declared traitors by his Majesty, and excepted as such in his declarations



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“or proclamations.” The cause of this limitation was as well the former rule his Majesty had set down at Shrewsbury, (from whence he thought not fit now to recede, after a battle,) as that he might prevent the Lord Say’s being sent to him, from whom he could expect no entire and upright dealing.

The next day another letter came from the Speaker of the House of Peers to the Lord Falkland, one of his Majesty’s principal Secretaries, to desire “a safe conduct for “the Earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, and four “Members of the House of Commons, to attend his Majesty with their petition;” which safe conduct was immediately signed by his Majesty, excepting only for Sir John Evelyn, who was by name excepted in his Majesty’s proclamation of pardon to the county of Wilts; which proclamation was then sent to them with a signification, “that if they would send any other person in his place, “not subject to the same exception, he should be received “as if his name were in the safe conduct.” Though this was no more than they had cause to look for, yet it gave them opportunity for a time to lay aside the thought of petitioning, as if his Majesty had rejected all overtures of peace: “For he might every day proclaim as many of “their members traitors, and except them from pardon, as “he pleased; and therefore it was to no purpose to prepare “petitions, and appoint messengers to present them, when “it was possible those messengers might, the hour before, “be proclaimed traitors: that to submit to such a limitation of the King’s was, upon the matter, to consent to “and approve the highest breach of privilege, that had “been yet offered to them.”

So that, for some days, all discourse of peace was waved, and all possible preparations for defence and resistance made; for which they had a stronger argument than either of the other, the advancing of their General, the Earl of Essex, who was now on his march towards London; and a great fame came before him of the strength and courage of his army; though in truth it was not answer-

able to the report: however, it served to encourage and inflame those whose fear only inclined them to peace, and to awe the rest. The King, who had every night an account of what was transacted in the Houses all day, (what the close committee did, who guided all private designs, was not so soon known,) resolved to quicken them; and advanced with his whole army to Colebrook. This indeed exalted their appetite to peace; for the clamour of the people was importunate, and somewhat humbled their style; for at Colebrook, the 11th of November, his Majesty was met by the two Earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, with those three of the House of Commons whose names were in the safe conduct; they satisfying themselves, that the leaving Sir John Evelyn behind them, without bringing another in his room, was no submission to the King's exception: and this petition was by them presented to him.

The King  
advances to  
Colebrook.

" We your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, being affected with a deep and piercing sense of the miseries of this kingdom, and of the dangers to your Majesty's person, as the present affairs now stand; and much quickened therein with the sad consideration of the great effusion of blood at the late battle, and of the loss of so many eminent persons; and farther weighing the addition of loss, misery, and danger to your Majesty, and your kingdom, which must ensue, if both armies should again join in another battle, as without God's especial blessing, and your Majesty's concurrence with your Houses of Parliament, will not probably be avoided: we cannot but believe that a suitable impression of tenderness and compassion is wrought in your Majesty's royal heart, being yourself an eye-witness of the bloody and sorrowful destruction of so many of your subjects; and that your Majesty doth apprehend what diminution of your own power and greatness will follow, and that all your kingdoms will thereby be so weakened as to become subject to the attempts of any ill-affected to this state.

A petition  
presented  
to the King  
from both  
Houses.

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“ In all which respects we assure ourselves, that your Majesty will be inclined graciously to accept this our humble petition; that the misery and desolation of this kingdom may be speedily removed, and prevented. For the effecting whereof, we humbly beseech your Majesty to appoint some convenient place, not far from the city of London, where your Majesty will be pleased to reside, until committees of both Houses of Parliament may attend your Majesty with some propositions for the removal of these bloody distempers and distractions, and settling the state of the kingdom in such a manner as may conduce to the preservation of God’s true religion, your Majesty’s honour, safety, and prosperity; and to the peace, comfort, and security of all your people.”

The King, within two or three hours after the receipt of this petition, delivered to the same messengers this ensuing answer, with which they returned the same night to London.

The King’s  
answer.

“ We take God to witness, how deeply we are affected with the miseries of this kingdom, which heretofore we have stroven as much as in us lay to prevent; it being sufficiently known to all the world that, as we were not the first that took up arms, so we have shewed our readiness of composing all things in a fair way, by our several offers of treaty, and shall be glad now at length to find any such inclinations in others. The same tenderness to avoid the destruction of our subjects, (whom we know to be our greatest strength,) which would always make our greatest victories bitter to us, shall make us willingly hearken to such propositions, whereby these bloody distempers may be stopped, and the great distractions of this kingdom settled to God’s glory, our honour, and the welfare and flourishing of our people: and to that end shall reside at our own castle at Windsor, (if the forces there shall be removed,) till committees may have time to attend us with the same, (which, to prevent the inconveniences that will intervene, we wish be hastened,) and shall be ready there, or, if that be refused us, at any



“ place where we shall be, to receive such propositions as  
“ aforesaid, from both our Houses of Parliament. Do you  
“ your duty, we will not be wanting in ours. God of his  
“ mercy give a blessing.”

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It was then believed by many, that if the King had, as soon as the messengers returned to London, retired with his army to Reading, and there expected the Parliament's answer, they would immediately have withdrawn their garrison from Windsor, and delivered that castle to his Majesty for his accommodation to have treated in: and without doubt those Lords who had been with the petition, and some others who thought themselves as much overshadowed by the greatness of the Earl of Essex, and the chief officers of the army, as they could be by the glory of any favourite, or power of any counsellors, were resolved to merit as much as they could of the King, by advancing an honourable peace; and had it in their purpose to endeavour the giving up of Windsor to the King; but whether they would have been able to have prevailed that so considerable a strength, in so considerable a place, should have been quitted, whilst there was only hope of a peace, I much doubt. But certainly the King's army carried great terror with it; and all those reports, which published the weakness of it, grew to be peremptorily disbelieved. For, besides that every day's experience disproved somewhat which was so confidently reported, and it was evident great industry was used to apply such intelligence to the people as was most like to make impression upon the passions and affections of the vulgar-spirited, it could not be believed that a handful of men could have given battle to their formidable army, and, after taking two or three of their garrisons, presume to march within fifteen miles of London: so that, if from thence the King had drawn back again to Reading, relying upon a treaty for the rest, it is probable his power would have been more valued, and consequently his grace the more magnified. And sure the King resolved to have done so, or at least to have staid at Colebrook till he heard again from the Parliament. But Prince Rupert,

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exalted with the terror he heard his name gave to the enemy, trusting too much to the vulgar intelligence every man received from his friends at London, who, according to their own passions and the affections of those with whom they corresponded, concluded that the King had so great a party in London, that, if his army drew near, no resistance would be made, without any direction from the King, the very next morning after the committee returned to London, advanced with the horse and dragoons to Hounslow, and then sent to the King to desire him that the army might march after; which was, in that case, of absolute necessity; for the Earl of Essex had a part of his army at Brentford, and the rest at Acton, and Kingston. So that if the King had not advanced with his body, those who were before might very easily have been compassed in, and their retreat made very difficult.

The King  
marches  
towards  
Brentford.

So the King marched with his whole army towards Brentford, where were two regiments of their best foot, (for so they were accounted, being those who had eminently behaved themselves at Edge-hill,) having barricaded the narrow avenues to the town, and cast up some little breast-works at the most convenient places. Here a Welsh regiment of the King's, which had been faulty at Edge-hill, recovered its honour, and assaulted the works, and forced the barricades well defended by the enemy. Then the King's forces entered the town after a very warm service, the chief officers and many soldiers of the other side being killed; and they took there above five hundred prisoners, eleven colours, and fifteen pieces of cannon, and good store of ammunition. But this victory (for considering the place it might well be called so) proved not at all fortunate to his Majesty.

The two Houses were so well satisfied with the answer their committee had brought from the King, and with the report they made of his Majesty's clemency, and gracious reception of them, that they had sent order to their forces, "that they should not exercise any act of hostility towards "the King's forces;" and, at the same time, dispatched a

messenger, to acquaint his Majesty therewith, and to desire "that there might be the like forbearance on his part." The messenger found both parties engaged at Brentford, and so returned without attending his Majesty, who had no apprehension that they intended any cessation; since those forces were advanced to Brentford, Acton, and Kingston, after their committee was sent to Colebrook. However they looked upon this entering of Brentford as a surprise contrary to faith, and the betraying their forces to a massacre, under the specious pretence of a treaty for peace. The alarm came to London, with the same terror as if the army were entered their gates, and the King accused "of treachery, perfidy, and blood; and "that he had given the spoil and wealth of the city as pil-lage to his army, which advanced with no other purpose."

They who believed nothing of those calumnies, were not yet willing the King should enter the city with an army, which, they knew, would not be governed in so rich quarters; and therefore, with unspeakable expedition, the army under the Earl of Essex was not only drawn together, but all the Trained Bands of London led out in their brightest equipage upon the heath next Brentford; where they had indeed a full army of horse and foot, fit to have decided the title of a crown with an equal adversary. The view and prospect of this strength, which nothing but that sudden exigent could have brought together, extremely puffed them up; not only as it was an ample security against the present danger, but as it looked like a safe power to encounter any other. They had now before their eyes the King's little handful of men, and then begun to wonder and blush at their own fears; and all this might be without excess of courage; for without doubt their numbers then, without the advantage of equipage, (which to soldiers is a great addition of mettle,) were five times greater than the King's harassed, weather-beaten, and half-starved troops.

The Earl of Essex's army, and the city Trained Bands, opposed against them.

I have heard many knowing men, and some who were



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then in the city regiments, say, "That if the King had advanced, and charged that massive body, it had presently given ground; and that the King had so great a party in every regiment, that they would have made no resistance." But it had been madness, which no success could have vindicated, to have made that attempt: and the King easily discerned that he had brought himself into straits and difficulties, which would be hardly mastered, and exposed his victorious army to a view, at too near a distance off his two enemies, the Parliament and the city. Yet he stood all that day in battalia to receive them, who only played upon him with their cannon, to the loss only of four or five horses, and not one man. The constitution of their forces, where there were very many not at all affected to the company they were in, being a good argument to them not to charge the King, which had been an ill one to him to charge them.

The King's  
army  
drawn off  
to King-  
ston.

When the evening drew on, and it appeared that great body stood only for the defence of the city, the King appointed his army to draw off to Kingston, which the rebels had kindly quitted; which they did without the loss of a man; and himself went to his own house at Hampton-Court; where he rested the next day, as well to refresh his army, even tired with watching and fasting, as to expect some propositions from the Houses. For, upon his advance to Brentford, he had sent a servant of his own, one Mr. White, with a message to the Parliament, containing the reasons of that motion, (there being no cessation offered on their part,) and desiring "the propositions might be dispatched to him with all speed." But his messenger, being carried to the Earl of Essex, was by him used very roughly, and by the Houses committed to the Gate-house, not without the motion of some men, "that he might be executed as a spy."

After a day's stay at Hampton-Court, the King removed himself to his house at Oatlands, leaving the gross of his army still at Kingston, and thereabouts; but being then informed of the high imputations they had laid upon him;

“ of breach of faith, by his march to Brentford ; and that  
 “ the city was really inflamed with an opinion, that he  
 “ meant to have surprised them, and to have sacked the  
 “ town ; that they were so possessed with that fear and  
 “ apprehension, that their care and preparation for their  
 “ safety would at least keep off all propositions for peace,  
 “ whilst the army lay so near London ;” he gave direction  
 for all his forces to retire to Reading ; first discharging all  
 the common soldiers, who had been taken prisoners at  
 Brentford, (except such who voluntarily offered to serve  
 him,) upon their oaths that they would no more bear arms  
 against his Majesty.

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Thence to  
Reading.

The King then sent a message to the Houses, in which  
 “ he took notice of those unjust and unreasonable imputa-  
 “ tions raised on him ; told them again of the reasons and  
 “ circumstances of his motion towards Brentford ; of the  
 “ Earl of Essex’s drawing out his forces towards him, and  
 “ possessing those quarters about him, and almost hem-  
 “ ming him in, after the time that the commissioners were  
 “ sent to him with the petition ; that he had never heard  
 “ of the least overture of the forbearing all acts of hosti-  
 “ lity, but saw the contrary practised by them by that ad-  
 “ vance ; that he had not the least thought or intention  
 “ of mastering the city by force, or carrying his army thi-  
 “ ther : that he wondered to hear his soldiers charged  
 “ with thirsting after blood, when they took above five  
 “ hundred prisoners in the very heat of the fight. He  
 “ told them such were most apt and likely to maintain  
 “ their power by blood and rapine, who had only got it by  
 “ oppression and injustice ; that his was vested in him by  
 “ the law, and by that only (if the destructive counsels of  
 “ others did not hinder such a peace, in which that might  
 “ once again be the universal rule, and in which only reli-  
 “ gion and justice could flourish) he desired to maintain  
 “ it : that he intended to march to such a distance from  
 “ his city of London, as might take away all pretence of  
 “ apprehension from his army, that might hinder them

The King  
sends a  
message to  
the Houses.

BOOK VI. "from preparing their propositions, in all security, to be presented to him; and there he would be ready to receive them, or, if that expedient pleased them not, to end the pressures and miseries, which his subjects, to his great grief, suffered through this war, by a present battle."

But as the army's being so near London was an argument against a present treaty, so its remove to Reading was a greater with very many not to desire any. The danger, which they had brought themselves for some days together to look upon at their gates, was now to be contemned at the distance of thirty miles; and this retreat imputed only to the fear of their power, not to the inclinations to peace. And therefore they, who during the time that the major part did really desire a good peace, and whilst overtures were preparing to that purpose, had the skill to intermingle acts more destructive to it, than any propositions could be contributory, (as the inviting the Scots to their assistance by that declaration, which is before mentioned; and the publishing a declaration at the same time, which had lain long by them, in reply to one set forth by the King long before in answer to theirs of the 26th of May, in which they used both his person and his power with more irreverence than they had ever done before,) now only insisted on the surprise, as they called it, of Brentford; and published, by the authority of both Houses, a relation of the carriage of the King's soldiers in that town after their victory, (which they framed upon the discourses of the country people, who possibly, as it could not be otherwise, had received damage by their licence then,) to make the King and his army odious to the kingdom; "as affecting nothing but blood and rapine;" and concluding, "that there could not be reasonably expected any good conditions of a tolerable peace from the King, whilst he was in such company; and therefore that all particular propositions were to be resolved into that one, of inviting his Majesty to come to them;" and got a



vote from the major part of both Houses, "that no other  
 "measure for accommodation or treaty should be thought  
 "on." BOOK VI.

Their trusty Lord Mayor of London, Isaac Pennington, who was again chosen to serve another year, so bestirred himself, having to assist him two Sheriffs, Langham and Andrews, as they could wish, that there was not only no more importunity or interposition from the city for peace; but, instead thereof, an overture and declaration from divers, under the style of well-affected persons, "that they  
 "would advance a considerable number of soldiers, for the  
 "supply and recruit of the Parliament forces; and would  
 "arm, maintain, and pay them for several months, or  
 "during the times of danger and distractions; provided  
 "that they might have the public faith of the kingdom  
 "for repayment of all such sums of money, which they  
 "should so advance by way of loan." This wonderful kind of proposition was presently declared "to be an acceptable service to the King, Parliament, and kingdom,  
 "and necessarily tending to the preservation of them;" and therefore an ordinance, as they call it, was framed and passed both Houses;

"That all such as should furnish men, money, horse,  
 "or arms for that service, should have the same fully re-  
 "paid again, with interest for the forbearance thereof,  
 "from the times disbursed. And for the true payment  
 "thereof, they did thereby engage to all, and every such  
 "person, and persons, the public faith of the kingdom."  
 And ordered the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs of London, by themselves, or such sub-committees as they should appoint, to take subscriptions, and to intend the advancement of that service. Upon this voluntary, general proposition, made by a few obscure men, probably such who were not able to supply much money, was this ordinance made; and from this ordinance the active Mayor, and Sheriffs, appointed a committee of such persons whose inclinations they well knew, to press all kind of people, especially those who were not forward, to new subscriptions;

An ordinance for raising money upon the public faith.

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and by degrees, from this unconsidered passage, grew the monthly tax of six thousand pounds to be set upon the city for the payment of the army.

As they provided, with this notable circumspection, to raise men and money; so they took not less care, nor used less art and industry, to raise their General; and lest he might suppose himself fallen in their good grace and confidence, by bringing an army back shattered, poor, and discomfited, which he had carried out in full numbers, and glorious equipage, they used him with greater reverence and submission than ever. They had before appointed another distinct army to be raised under the command of the Earl of Warwick, and not subject to the power of the Earl of Essex; and of this, several regiments and troops were raised: these they sent to the old army, and the Earl of Warwick gave up his commission, upon resolution, "that there should be only one General, and he, the Earl of Essex." Then the two Houses passed, and presented, with great solemnity, this declaration to his Excellency, the same day that their committee went to the King with their petition:

A declaration of both Houses concerning their General's acceptable service.

"That, as they had, upon mature deliberation, and assured confidence in his wisdom, courage, and fidelity, chosen and appointed him their Captain-General; so they did find, that the said Earl had managed that service, of so high importance, with so much care, valour, and dexterity, as well by the extremest hazard of his life, in a bloody battle near Keinton in Warwickshire, as by all the actions of a most excellent and expert commander, in the whole course of that employment, as did deserve their best acknowledgment: and they did therefore declare, and publish, to the lasting honour of the said Earl, the great and acceptable service, which he had therein done to the commonwealth: and should be willing and ready, upon all occasions, to express the due sense they had of his merits, by assuring and protecting him, and all others employed under his command in that service, with their lives and fortunes, to the uttermost of

“ their power: that testimony and declaration to remain  
 “ upon record, in both Houses of Parliament, for a mark  
 “ of honour to his person, name, and family, and for a  
 “ monument of his singular virtue to posterity.”

When they had thus composed their army and their General, they sent this petition to the King to Reading, who staid still there in expectation of their propositions.

“ May it please your Majesty :

“ It is humbly desired by both Houses of Parliament, <sup>The Houses' petition to the King, Nov. 24.</sup>  
 “ that your Majesty will be pleased to return to your Par-  
 “ liament, with your royal, not your martial, attendance;  
 “ to the end that religion, laws, and liberties, may be set-  
 “ tled and secured by their advice; finding by a sad and  
 “ late accident, that your Majesty is environed by some  
 “ such counsels, as do rather persuade a desperate divi-  
 “ sion, than a joining and a good agreement with your  
 “ Parliament and people: and we shall be ready to give  
 “ your Majesty assurances of such security, as may be for  
 “ your honour, and the safety of your royal person.”

As soon as the King received this strange address, he returned them by the same messenger a sharp answer to this effect: He told them, “ he hoped all his good subjects <sup>The substance of the King's answer.</sup>  
 “ would look upon that message with indignation, as in-  
 “ tended, by the contrivers thereof, as a scorn to him;  
 “ and thereby designed by that malignant party, (of whom  
 “ he had so often complained, whose safety and ambition  
 “ was built upon the divisions and ruins of the kingdom,  
 “ and who had too great an influence upon their actions,)  
 “ for a wall of separation betwixt his Majesty and his  
 “ people. He said, he had often told them the reasons,  
 “ why he departed from London; how he was chased  
 “ thence, and by whom; and as often complained, that  
 “ the greatest part of his Peers, and of the members of the  
 “ House of Commons, could not, with safety to their ho-  
 “ nours and persons, continue, and vote freely among  
 “ them; but, by violence, and cunning practices, were de-  
 “ barred of those privileges, which their birthrights, and



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“ the trust reposed in them by their countries, gave them :  
 “ that the whole kingdom knew that an army was raised,  
 “ under pretence of orders of both Houses, (an usurpation  
 “ never before heard of in any age,) which army had pur-  
 “ sued his Majesty in his own kingdom ; given him battle  
 “ at Keinton ; and now, those rebels being recruited, and  
 “ possessed of the city of London, he was courteously in-  
 “ vited to return to his Parliament there, that is, to the  
 “ power of that army.

“ That, he said, could signify nothing but that, since  
 “ the traitorous endeavours of those desperate men could  
 “ not snatch the crown from his head, it being defended  
 “ by the providence of God, and the affections and loyalty  
 “ of his good subjects, he should now tamely come up,  
 “ and give it them ; and put himself, his life, and the  
 “ lives, liberties, and fortunes of all his good subjects into  
 “ their merciful hands. He said, he thought not fit to  
 “ give any other answer to that part of their petition :  
 “ but as he imputed not that affront to both his Houses  
 “ of Parliament, nor to the major part of those who were  
 “ then present there, but to that dangerous party his Ma-  
 “ jesty and the kingdom must still cry out upon ; so he  
 “ would not (for his good subjects’ sake, and out of his  
 “ most tender sense of their miseries, and the general ca-  
 “ lamities of the kingdom, which must, if the war conti-  
 “ nued, speedily overwhelm the whole nation) take advan-  
 “ tage of it : but if they would really pursue the course  
 “ they seemed, by their petition at Colebrook, to be in-  
 “ clined to, he should make good all he then promised ;  
 “ whereby the hearts of his distressed subjects might be  
 “ raised with the hopes of peace ; without which, religion,  
 “ the laws, and liberties, could by no ways be settled and  
 “ secured.

“ For the late and sad accident they mentioned, if they  
 “ intended that of Brentford, he desired them once again  
 “ to deal ingenuously with the people, and to let them see  
 “ his last message to them, and his declaration concerning  
 “ the same,” (both which his Majesty had sent to his press

at London, but were taken away from his messenger, and not suffered to be published,) “and then he doubted not, “but they would be soon undeceived, and easily find out “those counsels, which did rather persuade a desperate “division, than a good agreement betwixt his Majesty, his “two Houses, and people.”

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This answer being delivered, without any farther consideration whether the same were reasonable or not reasonable, they declared “the King had no mind to peace;” and thereupon laid aside all farther debates to that purpose; and ordered their General to march to Windsor with the army, to be so much nearer the King’s forces; for the better recruiting whereof, two of their most eminent chaplains, Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshall, publicly avowed, “that the soldiers lately taken prisoners at Brentford, and discharged, and released by the King upon “their oaths that they would never again bear arms “against him, were not obliged by that oath;” but, by their power, absolved them thereof, and so engaged again those miserable wretches in a second rebellion.

When the King discerned clearly that the enemies to peace had the better of him, and that there was now no farther thought of preparing propositions to be sent to him; after he had seen a line drawn about Reading, which he resolved to keep as a garrison, and the works in a reasonable forwardness, he left Sir Arthur Aston, whom he had lately made Commissary-General of the horse, (Mr. Wilmot being at the same time constituted Lieutenant-General,) Governor thereof, with a garrison of above two thousand foot, and a good regiment of horse: and himself with the rest of his army marched to Oxford, where he resolved to rest that winter, settling at the same time a good garrison at Wallingford, a place of great importance within eight miles of Oxford; another at the Brill upon the edge of Buckinghamshire; a third being before settled at Banbury; Abingdon being the head quarters for his horse; and by this means he had all Oxfordshire entire, all Berkshire, but that barren division about

The King  
having gar-  
risoned  
Reading  
and Wal-  
lingford,  
and some  
other  
places,  
marches to  
Oxford.



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Marlborough garrisoned by the Parliament.

Windsor; and from the Brill, and Banbury, a good influence upon Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire.

The King was hardly settled in his quarters, when he heard that the Parliament was fixing a garrison at Marlborough in Wiltshire, a town the most notoriously disaffected of all that county; otherwise, saving the obstinacy and malice of the inhabitants, in the situation of it very unfit for a garrison. Thither the Earl of Essex had sent one Ramsey, (a Scotsman, as very many of their officers were of that nation,) to be Governor; who, with the help of the factious people there, had quickly drawn together five or six hundred men. This place, the King saw, would soon prove an ill neighbour to him; not only as it was in the heart of a rich county, and so would straiten, and even infest his quarters, (for it was within twenty miles of Oxford,) but as it did cut off his line of communication with the west: and therefore, though it was December, a season, when his tired and almost naked soldiers might expect rest, he sent a strong party of horse, foot, and dragoons, under the command of Mr. Wilmot, the Lieutenant-General of his horse, to visit that town; who, coming thither on a Saturday, found the place strongly manned: for, besides the garrison, it being market-day, very many country people came thither to buy and sell, and were all compelled to stay and take arms for the defence of the place; which, for the most part, they were willing to do, and the people peremptory to defend it. Though there was no line about it, yet there were some places of great advantage, upon which they had raised batteries, and planted cannon, and so barricadoed all the avenues, which were through deep narrow lanes, that the horse could do little service.

When the Lieutenant-General was, with his party, near the town, he apprehended a fellow, who confessed, upon examination, "that he was a spy, and sent by the Governor to bring intelligence of their strength and motion." When all men thought, and the poor fellow himself feared, he should be executed, the Lieutenant-General



caused his whole party to be ranged in order in the next convenient place, and bid the fellow look well upon them, and observe them, and then bid him return to the town, and tell those that sent him, what he had seen, and withal that he should acquaint the magistrates of the town, "that they should do well to treat with the garrison, to give them leave to submit to the King; that if they did so, the town should not receive the least prejudice; but if they compelled him to make his way, and enter the town by force, it would not be in his power to keep his soldiers from taking that which they should win with their blood:" and so dismissed him. This generous act proved of some advantage; for the fellow, transported with having his life given him; and the numbers of the men he had seen, besides his no experience in such sights, being multiplied by his fear, made notable relations of the strength, gallantry, and resolution of the enemy, and of the impossibility of resisting them; which, though it prevailed not with those in authority to yield, yet it strangely abated the hopes and courage of the people. So that when the King's soldiers fell on, after a volley or two, in which much execution was done, they threw down their arms, and run into the town; so that the foot had time to make room for the horse, who were now entered at both ends of the town, yet were not so near an end as they expected; for the streets were in many places barricadoed, which were obstinately defended by some soldiers and townsmen, who killed many men out of the windows of the houses; so that, it may be, if they had trusted only to their own strength, without compelling the country men to increase their number, and who being first frightened, and weary, disheartened their companions, that place might have cost more blood. Ramsey the governor was himself retired into the church with some officers, and from thence did some hurt; upon this, there being so many killed out of windows, fire was put to the next houses, so that a good part of the town was burned, and then the soldiers entered doing less execution than could

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reasonably be expected; but what they spared in blood, they took in pillage, the soldiers inquiring little who were friends or foes.

Marlborough taken by the King's forces under Lieutenant General Wilmot.

This was the first garrison taken on either side; for Farnham Castle in Surrey, whither some gentlemen who were willing to appear for the King had repaired, and were taken with less resistance than was fit, by Sir William Waller, some few days before, deserved not the name of a garrison. In this of Marlborough were taken, besides the Governor, and other officers, who yielded upon quarter, above one thousand prisoners; great stores of arms, four pieces of cannon, and a good quantity of ammunition, with all which the Lieutenant-General returned safe to Oxford: though this success was a little shadowed, by the unfortunate loss of a very good regiment of horse within a few days after; for the Lord Grandison, by the miscarriage of orders, was exposed, at too great a distance from the army, with his single regiment of horse consisting of three hundred, and a regiment of two hundred dragoons, to the unequal encounter of a party of the enemy of five thousand horse and dragoons; and so was himself, after a retreat made to Winchester, there taken with all his party; which was the first loss of that kind the King sustained; but without the least fault of the commander; and the misfortune was much lessened by his making an escape himself with two or three of his principal officers, who were very welcome to Oxford.

The first thing the King applied himself to consult upon, after he was settled in his winter quarters, and despaired of any honest overtures for a peace, was, how to apply some antidote to that poison, which was sent into Scotland, in that declaration we mentioned before; the which he had not only seen, as an act communicated abroad and in many hands, but the Scottish Earl of Lindsey, who was then a Commissioner Lieger at London for Scotland, had presented it to him. And there was every day some motion in the House of Commons to press the Scots, to invade the kingdom for their assistance, upon



the growth of the Earl of Newcastle's power in the north. And therefore, after full thoughts, the King writ to his Privy Council of Scotland, (who, by the laws enacted when he was last there, had the absolute, indeed regal, power of that kingdom,) and took notice of that declaration, which had been sent to them, earnestly inviting, and in a manner challenging an assistance from that his native kingdom of men and arms, for making a war against him, and making claim to that assistance by virtue of the late Act of Pacification.

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He told them, "that, as he was at his soul afflicted, that it had been in the power of any factious, ambitious, and malicious persons, so far to possess the hearts of many of his subjects of England, as to raise this miserable distemper and distraction in this kingdom against all his real endeavours and actions to the contrary; so he was glad, that that rage and fury had so far transported them, that they applied themselves, in so gross a manner, to his subjects of Scotland; whose experience of his religion, justice, and love of his people, would not suffer them to believe those horrid scandals, laid upon his Majesty: and their affection, loyalty, and jealousy of his honour, would disdain to be made instruments to oppress their native Sovereign, by assisting an odious rebellion." He remembered them, "that he had from time to time acquainted his subjects of that kingdom with the accidents and circumstances which had disquieted this; how, after all the acts of justice, grace, and favour, performed on his part, which were or could be desired to make a people completely happy, he was driven, by the force and violence of rude and tumultuous assemblies, from his city of London, and his Houses of Parliament; how attempts had been made to impose laws upon his subjects, without his consent, and contrary to the foundation and constitution of the kingdom; how his forts, goods, and navy, had been seized, and taken from him by force, and employed against him; his revenue, and ordinary subsistence, wrested

The substance of the King's message to the Privy Council of Scotland, upon occasion of the two Houses' declaration to that kingdom.



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“ from him : how he had been pursued with scandalous  
“ and reproachful language ; bold, false, and seditious  
“ pasquils, and libels, publicly allowed against him ; and  
“ had been told that he might, without want of modesty  
“ and duty, be deposed : that after all this, before any  
“ force raised by him, an army was raised, and a General  
“ appointed to lead that army against his Majesty, with a  
“ commission to kill, slay, and destroy all such who  
“ should be faithful to him : that when he had been, by  
“ these means, compelled, with the assistance of his good  
“ subjects, to raise an army for his necessary defence, he  
“ had sent divers gracious messages, earnestly desiring  
“ that the calamities and miseries of a civil war might be  
“ prevented by a treaty ; and so he might know the  
“ grounds of that misunderstanding : that he was abso-  
“ lutely refused to be treated with, and the army, (raised,  
“ as was pretended, for the defence of his person,) brought  
“ into the field against him, gave him battle ; and, though  
“ it pleased God to give his Majesty the victory, destroyed  
“ many of his good subjects, with as eminent danger to  
“ his own person, and his children, as the skill and malice  
“ of desperate rebels could contrive.

“ Of all which, and the other indignities, which had  
“ been offered to him, he doubted not the duty and affec-  
“ tion of his Scottish subjects would have so just a resent-  
“ ment, that they would express to the world the sense  
“ they had of his sufferings : and he hoped, his good sub-  
“ jects of Scotland were not so great strangers to the af-  
“ fairs of this kingdom, to believe that this misfortune and  
“ distraction was begot and brought upon him by his two  
“ Houses of Parliament ; though, in truth, no unwarrant-  
“ able action against the law could be justified even by  
“ that authority ; but that they well knew how the mem-  
“ bers of both Houses had been driven thence, insomuch  
“ that, of above five hundred members of the House of  
“ Commons, there were not then there above fourscore ;  
“ and, of above one hundred of the House of Peers, not  
“ above fifteen or sixteen ; all which were so awed by a

“ multitude of Anabaptists, Brownists, and other persons, desperate, and decayed in their fortunes, in and about the city of London, that, in truth, their consultations had not the freedom and privilege which belong to Parliaments.

“ Concerning any commissions granted by his Majesty to Papists to raise forces, he referred them to a declaration, lately set forth by him upon the occasion of that scandal, which he likewise then sent to them. And for his own true and zealous affection to the Protestant religion, he would give no other instance than his own constant practice, on which malice itself could lay no blemish; and those many protestations he had made in the sight of Almighty God, to whom he knew he should be dearly accountable, if he failed in the observation.

“ For that scandalous imputation of his intention of bringing in foreign forces, as the same was raised without the least shadow or colour of reason, and solemnly disavowed by his Majesty, in many of his declarations; so there could not be a clearer argument to his subjects of Scotland that he had no such thought, than that he had hitherto forborne to require the assistance of that his native kingdom; from whose obedience, duty, and affection, he should confidently expect it, if he thought his own strength here too weak to preserve him; and of whose courage and loyalty he should look to make use, before he should think of any foreign aid to succour him. And he knew no reasonable or understanding man could suppose that they were obliged, or enabled, by the late act of Parliament in both kingdoms, to obey the invitation that was made to them by that pretended declaration, when it was so evidently provided for by that act, that as the kingdom of England should not war against the kingdom of Scotland, without consent of the Parliament of England, so the kingdom of Scotland should not make war against the kingdom of England without the consent of the Parliament of Scotland.”

He told them, “ if the grave counsel and advice, which

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“ they had given, and derived to the Houses of Parliament  
 “ here, by their act of the 22d of April last, had been fol-  
 “ lowed in a tender care of his royal person, and of his  
 “ princely greatness and authority, there would not that  
 “ face of confusion have appeared, which now threatened  
 “ this kingdom: and therefore he required them to com-  
 “ municate what he then writ to all his subjects of that  
 “ kingdom, and to use their utmost endeavours to inform  
 “ them of the truth of his condition; and that they suf-  
 “ fered not the scandals and imputations laid on his Ma-  
 “ jesty by the malice and treason of some men, to make  
 “ any impression in the minds of his people, to the less-  
 “ ening or corrupting their affections and loyalty to him;  
 “ but that they assured them all, that the hardness he then  
 “ underwent, and the arms he had been compelled to take  
 “ up, were for the defence of his person and safety of his  
 “ life; for the maintenance of the true Protestant religion,  
 “ for the preservation of the laws, liberties, and constitu-  
 “ tion of this kingdom, and for the just privileges of Par-  
 “ liament; and that he looked no longer for a blessing  
 “ from heaven, than he endeavoured the defence and ad-  
 “ vancement of all these: and, he could not doubt, a du-  
 “ tiful concurrence in his subjects of Scotland, in the care  
 “ of his honour, and just rights, would draw down a bless-  
 “ ing upon that nation too.”

Though his Majesty well knew all the persons, to whom he directed this letter, to be those who were only able and willing to do him all possible disservice, yet he was sure by other instruments, if they neglected, which, for that reason, they were not like to do, to publish it to the people there; which he believed might so far operate upon them, as the others would not be able to procure them to invade England; and other fruit of their allegiance he expected not, than that they should not rebel.

What  
means  
the King  
then used  
to raise  
money.

His Majesty's next care was the procuring money for the payment of his army; that the narrow circuit which contained his quarters might not be so intolerably oppressed with that whole burden. This was a very difficult



matter ; for the soldiery already grew very high, and would obey no orders or rules but of their own making ; and Prince Rupert considered only the subsistence, and advance of the horse, as his province, and indeed as if it had been a province apart from the army ; and therefore would by no means endure that the great contributions, which the counties within command willingly submitted to, should be assigned to any other use than the support of the horse, and to be immediately collected, and received by the officers. So that the several garrisons, and all the body of foot, were to be constantly paid, and his Majesty's weekly expence for his house borne, out of such monies as could be borrowed. For, of all his own revenue, he had not yet the receiving a penny within his power ; neither did he think fit to compel any one, even such who were known to have contributed freely to the Parliament, to supply him : only by letters, and all other gentle ways, he invited those who were able, to consider how much their own security and prosperity was concerned, and depended upon the preservation of his rights ; and offered to sell any of his lands, or to give any personal security for whatsoever money would be lent to him at interest : for he had directed a grant to be prepared of several parks, and forests, and other crown-lands, to many persons of honour and great fortune about him, whose estates and reputation were well known ; who were ready to be personally bound for whatsoever sums could be borrowed.

The affection of the University of Oxford was most eminent : for, as they had before, when the troubles first broke out, sent the King above ten thousand pounds out of the several stocks of the colleges, and the purses of particular persons, many whereof lent him all they had ; so they now again made him a new present. By these means, and the loan of particular persons, especially from London, (for from thence, notwithstanding all the strict watch to the contrary, considerable sums were drawn,) the King, even above his hopes, was able to pay his foot, albeit it amounted to above three thousand pounds weekly, in such man-

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ner, that during the whole winter there was not the least disorder for want of pay. And then he used all possible care to encourage and countenance new levies of horse and foot, for the recruiting his army against the next spring.

The Parliament's army being now about London, the officers of it who were members of Parliament attended that council diligently, upon which that army alone depended; and, though they still seemed very desirous of peace, they very solemnly and severely prosecuted all those who really endeavoured it. Their partiality and injustice was so notorious, that there was no rule or measure of right in any matter depending before them, but consideration only of the affections and opinions of the persons contending; neither could any thing be more properly said of them, than what Tacitus once spoke of the Jews, *apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, adversus omnes alios hostile odium*. Volumes would not contain the instances. But they found the old arguments of popery, the militia, and delinquents, for the justification of the war, grew every day of less reverence with the people; and that as the King's own religion was above any scandal they could lay upon it, so the regal power seemed so asserted by law, and the King, upon all occasions, cited particular statutes for the vindication of his right, that whilst they confessed the sovereign power to be vested in him, all legal ministers had that dependence on him, that their authority would by degrees grow into contempt.

The King  
makes new  
Sheriffs.

And of this disadvantage the season of the year put them in mind: for the King now, according to course, pricked Sheriffs, and made such choice in all counties, that they foresaw the people were not like to be so implicitly at their disposal. Therefore, as they had before craftily insinuated the same in some particulars, they now barefaced avow, "that the sovereign power was wholly "and entirely in them; and that the King himself, severed from them, had no regal power in him." Their Clergy had hitherto been their champions, and wrested



the Scripture to their sense; their Lawyers were now to vindicate their title, and they were not more modest in applying their profession to their service. As all places of Scripture, or in the Fathers, which were spoken of the Church of Christ, are by the Papists applied to the Church of Rome; so whatsoever is written in any of the books of the law, or mentioned in the records, of the authority and effects of the sovereign power, and of the dignity and jurisdiction of Parliament, was, by these men, alleged and urged for the power of the two Houses, and sometimes for the single authority of the House of Commons. Being supplied with the learning of these gentlemen, they declared, that "the Sheriffs, then constituted by the King, were not legal Sheriffs, nor ought to execute, or be submitted to in that office;" and ordered, "whomsoever the King made Sheriff in any county, to be sent for as delinquent:" and because it seemed unreasonable, that the counties should be without that legal minister, to whom the law had intrusted its custody, it was proposed, "that they might make a new Great Seal, and by that authority make Sheriffs, and such other officers as they should find necessary;" but for the present that motion was laid aside.

The King had appointed some of those prisoners who were taken in the battle of Keinton-field, and others apprehended in the act of rebellion, to be indicted of high treason, upon the statute of the 25th year of King Edward the Third, before the Lord Chief Justice, and other learned Judges of the law, by virtue of his Majesty's commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*: the Parliament declared "all such indictments, and all proceedings thereupon, to be unjust and illegal;" and inhibited the Judges to proceed farther therein; declaring, (which was a stronger argument,) "that if any man were executed, or suffered hurt, for any thing he had done by their order, the like punishment should be inflicted, by death or otherwise, upon such prisoners as were, or should be, taken by their forces:" and in none of their cases ever asked the



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Judges what the law was. By the determination of the statute, and the King's refusal, which hath been mentioned before, to pass any new law to that purpose, there was no farther duty of tonnage and poundage due upon merchandise, and the statute made this very Parliament involved all men in the guilt and penalty of a præmunire, who offered to receive it. The King published a proclamation upon that statute, "and required all men to forbear paying that duty, and forbid all to receive it." They again declared, "that no person, who received those duties by virtue of their orders, was within the danger of a præmunire, or any other penalty whatsoever; because the intent and meaning of that penal clause was only to restrain the Crown from imposing any duty or payment upon the subjects, without their consent in Parliament; and was not intended to extend to any case whereunto the Lords and Commons give their assent in Parliament."

And that this sovereignty might be farther taken notice of than within the limits of this kingdom, they sent, with all formality, letters of credence, and instructions, and their agents, into foreign states and kingdoms.

The substance of the declaration of the Lords and Commons to the States General of the United Provinces.

By their agent to the United Provinces, where the Queen was then residing, they had the courage, in plain terms, to accuse the Prince of Orange "for supplying the King with arms and ammunition; for licensing divers commanders, officers, and soldiers, to resort into this kingdom to his aid." They remembered them "of the great help that they had received from this kingdom, when heretofore they lay under the heavy oppression of their Princes; and how conducive the friendship of this nation had been to their present greatness and power; and therefore they could not think, that they would be forward to help to make them slaves, who had been so useful, and assistant in making them free men; or that they would forget, that their troubles and dangers issued from the same fountain with their own; and that those who were set awork to undermine religion

“and liberty in the kingdom, were the same who by open force did seek to bereave them of both.” They told them, “it could not be unknown to that wise State, that it was the jesuitical faction in this kingdom, that had corrupted the counsels of the King, the consciences of a great part of the Clergy; which sought to destroy the Parliament, and had raised the rebellion in Ireland.” They desired them therefore, “not to suffer any more ordnance, armour, or any other warlike provision, to be brought over to strengthen those, who, as soon as they should prevail against the Parliament, would use that strength to the ruin of those from whom they had it.”

They desired them, “they would not send over any of their countrymen to farther their destruction, who were sent to them for their preservation; that they would not anticipate the spilling of English blood, in an unnatural civil war, which had been so cheerfully and plentifully hazarded, and spent, in that just and honourable war by which they had been so long preserved, and to which the blood of those persons, and many other subjects of this kingdom, was still in a manner dedicated; but rather that they would cashier, and discard from their employment, those that would presume to come over for that purpose.” They told them, “the question between his Majesty and the Parliament was not whether he should enjoy the same prerogative and power, which had belonged to their former Kings, his Majesty’s royal predecessors; but whether that prerogative and power should be employed to their defence, or to their ruin; that it could not be denied by those, who look indifferently on their proceedings and affairs, that it would be more honour and wealth, safety and greatness to his Majesty, in concurring with his Parliament, than in the course in which he now is: but so unhappy had his Majesty and the kingdom been, in those who had the greatest influence upon his counsels, that they looked more upon the prevailing of their own party, than upon any those great advantages, both to



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“ his crown and royal person, which he might obtain by  
 “ joining with his people: and so cunning were those  
 “ factors for Popery, in prosecution of their own aims,  
 “ that they could put on a counterfeit visage of honour,  
 “ peace, and greatness, upon those courses and counsels,  
 “ which had no truth and reality, but of weakness, disho-  
 “ nour, and miseries to his Majesty, and the whole king-  
 “ dom.”

They said, “ they had lately expressed their earnest in-  
 “ clinations to that national love and amity with the  
 “ United Provinces, which had been nourished and con-  
 “ firmed by so many civil respects, and mutual interests,  
 “ as made it so natural to them, that they had, this Par-  
 “ liament, in their humble petition to his Majesty, desired,  
 “ that they might be joined with that State in a more near  
 “ and strait league and union: and they could not but ex-  
 “ pect some returns from them, of the like expressions;  
 “ and that they would be so far from blowing the fire,  
 “ which begun to kindle among them, that they would  
 “ rather endeavour to quench it, by strengthening and en-  
 “ couraging them who had no other design but not to be  
 “ destroyed, and to preserve their religion, save them-  
 “ selves, and the other Reformed Churches of Christen-  
 “ dom, from the massacres and extirpations, with which  
 “ the principles of the Roman religion did threaten them  
 “ all; which were begun to be acted in Ireland, and in  
 “ the hopes, and endeavours, and intentions of that party  
 “ had long since been executed upon them, if the mercy,  
 “ favour, and blessing of Almighty God had not super-  
 “ abounded, and prevented the subtilty and malignity of  
 “ cruel, wicked, and blood-thirsty men.”

With this specious dispatch, in which were many other particulars to render the King's cause ungracious, and their own very plausible, their agent, one Strickland, an obscure gentleman, was received by the States; and, notwithstanding the Queen was then there, and the Prince of Orange visibly inclined to assist the King with all his interests, and the interposition of the King's resident, did



not only hinder the States from giving the least countenance to the King's cause, but really so corrupted the English in the army, and in that Court, that there was nothing designed to advance it by the Prince of Orange himself, (who with great generosity supplied the King with arms and ammunition to a very considerable value,) or by the private activity and dexterity of particular persons, out of their own fortune, or by the sale or pawning of jewels, but intelligence was given soon enough to the Parliament, either to get stops, and seizures upon it, by order of the State, or to intercept the supply by their navy at sea. So that much more was in that manner, and by that means, taken and intercepted at sea, than ever arrived at any port within his Majesty's obedience: of which at that time he had only one, the harbour of Newcastle. With the same success they sent another agent to Brussels, who prevailed with Don Francisco de Melos, then Governor of Flanders, to discountenance always, and sometimes to prevent, the preparations which were there making by the King's ministers. And in France they had another agent, one Aulgier, a man long before in the constant pay of the Crown; who, though he was not received, and avowed, (to put the better varnish upon their professions to the King,) by that Crown, did them more service than either of the other; by how much more that people had an influence upon the distempers of the three kingdoms.

And as the Parliament made all these addresses to foreign States and Princes, which no Parliament had ever done before, so it will be fit here to take notice how other Princes appeared concerned on the King's behalf. The Spaniard was sufficiently incensed by the King's reception of the Ambassadors of Portugal, and, which was more, entering into terms of amity and league with that Crown, and had therefore contributed notable assistance to the rebellion in Ireland, and sent both arms and money thither. And since the extravagances of this Parliament, the Ambassador of Spain had made great application to them.

The inclinations of foreign Kings and States in this cause between the King and Parliament.

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The French, according to their nature, were much more active, and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former commotions in Scotland had been raised by the special encouragement, if not contrivance, of the Cardinal Richelieu; who had carefully kept up and enlarged the old franchises of the Scots under that Crown; which made a very specious shew of wonderful grace and benefit, at a distance, to that nation, and was of little burden to the French; and, in truth, of little advantage to those who were in full possession of all those privileges. Yet, by this means, the French have always had a very great influence upon the affections of that people, and opportunities to work great prejudice to that Crown: as nothing was more visible than that, by the Cardinal's activity, all those late distempers in Scotland were carried on till his death, and, by his rules and principles, afterwards: the French ministers always making their correspondence with, and relation to those who were taken notice to be of the Puritan party; which was understood to be in order only to the opposition of those counsels, which should at any time be offered on the behalf of Spain.

Since the beginning of this Parliament, the French Ambassador, Monsieur la Ferté, dissembled not to have notable familiarity with those who governed most in the two Houses; discovered to them whatsoever he knew, or could reasonably devise to the prejudice of the King's counsels and resolutions; and took all opportunities to lessen and undervalue the King's regal power, by applying himself on public occasions of state, and in his master's name, and to improve his interest, to the two Houses of Parliament, (which had in no age before been ever known,) as in the business of transportation of men out of Ireland, before remembered; in which he caused, by the importunity of the two Houses, his Majesty's promise and engagement to the Spanish Ambassador to be rendered of no effect. And, after that, he formally exhibited, in writing, a complaint to the two Houses against Sir Thomas Rowe, his Majesty's extraordinary Ambassador

to the Emperor, and Princes of Germany, upon the treaty of an accommodation on the behalf of the Prince Elector and restitution of the Palatinate, confidently avowing, "that Sir Thomas Rowe had offered, on the King's part, "to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the "House of Austria, and to wed all their interests;" and, in plain terms, asked them, "whether they had given Sir "Thomas instructions to that purpose?" expressing a great value his master had of the affection of the Parliament of England; which drew them to a return of much and unusual civility, and to assure the French King, "that Sir Thomas Rowe had no such instructions from "them; and that they would examine the truth of it; "and would be careful that nothing should be done and "perfected in that treaty, which might reflect upon the "good of the French King." Whereas in truth there was not the least ground or pretence for that suggestion; Sir Thomas Rowe having never made any such offer, or any thing like it. And when, after his return out of Germany, he expostulated with the French Ambassador, for such an injurious, causeless information, he answered, "that his master had received such advertisement, and "had given him order to do what he did." So that it easily appeared, it was only a fiction of state, whereby they took occasion to publish, that they would take any opportunity to resort to the two Houses, and thereby to flatter them in their usurpation of any sovereign authority.

There is not a sadder consideration than this passion, and injustice, in Christian Princes, (and I pray God the almighty justice be not angry, on this account, with the government of Kings, Princes, and States,) that they are seldom so solicitous that the laws be executed, justice administered, and order performed within their own kingdoms, as they are that all three may be disturbed and confounded amongst their neighbours. And there is no sooner a spark of dissension, a discomposure in affections, a jealousy in understandings, discerned to be in a neigh-



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bour province, or kingdom, to the hazarding the peace thereof, but they, though in league and amity, with their utmost art and industry, make it their business to kindle that spark into a flame, and to contract and ripen all unsettled humours, and jealous apprehensions, into a peremptory discontent, and all discontent to sedition, and all sedition to open and professed rebellion. And they have rarely so ample satisfaction in their own greatness, or so great a sense and value of God's blessing upon them, as when they have been instruments of drawing some notorious calamity upon their neighbours. As if the religion of Princes were nothing but policy, and that they considered nothing more, than to make all other kingdoms but their own miserable: and because God hath reserved them to be tried only within his own jurisdiction, and before his own tribunal, that he means to try them too by other laws, and rules, than he hath published to the world for his servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to consider, that God hath placed them over his people as examples, and to give countenance to his laws by their own strict observation of them; and that as their subjects are to be defended and protected by their Princes, so they themselves are to be assisted and supported by one another; the function of Kings being an order by itself: and as a contempt and breach of every law is, in the policy of state, an offence against the person of the King, because there is a kind of violation offered to his person in the transgression of that rule without which he cannot govern; so the rebellion of subjects against their Prince ought to be looked upon, by all other Kings, as an assault of their own sovereignty, and, in some degree, a design against monarchy itself; and consequently to be suppressed, and extirpated, in what other kingdom soever it is, with the like concernment as if it were in their own bowels.

Besides these indirect artifices, and activity before mentioned in the French Ambassador, very many of the Hugonots in France (with whom this Crown heretofore, it

may be, kept too much correspondence) were declared enemies to the King; and, in public and in secret, gave all possible assistance to those whose business was to destroy the Church. And as this animosity proved of unspeakable inconvenience and damage to the King, throughout all these troubles, and of equal benefit to his enemies; so the occasion, from whence those disaffections grew, was very unskilfully and imprudently administered by the state here. Not to speak of the business of Rochelle, which, though it stuck deep in all, yet most imputed the counsels of that time to men that were dead, and not to a fixed design of the Court; they had a greater quarrel, which made them believe, that their very religion was persecuted by the Church of England.

When the reformation of religion first begun in England, in the time of King Edward the Sixth, very many, out of Germany and France, left their countries, where the Reformation was severely persecuted, and transplanted themselves, their families, and estates, into England, where they were received very hospitably; and that King, with great piety and policy, by several acts of state, granted them many indemnities, and the free use of churches in London for the exercise of their religion: whereby the number of them increased; and the benefit to the kingdom, by such an access of trade, and improvement of manufactures, was very considerable. Which Queen Elizabeth finding, and well knowing that other notable uses of them might be made, enlarged their privileges by new concessions; drawing, by all means, great numbers over, and suffering them to erect churches, and to enjoy the exercise of their religion after their own manner, and according to their own ceremonies, in all places, where, for the conveniency of their trade, they chose to reside. And so they had churches in Norwich, Canterbury, and other places of the kingdom, as well as in London; whereby the wealth of those places marvellously increased. And, besides the benefit from thence, the Queen made use of them in her great transactions of state in

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France, and the Low Countries, and, by the mediation and interposition of those people, kept an useful interest in that party, in all the foreign dominions where they were tolerated. The same charters of liberty were continued and granted to them, during the peaceable reign of King James, and in the beginning of this King's reign, although, it may be, the politic considerations in those concessions, and connivances, were neither made use of, nor understood.

Some few years before these troubles, when the power of churchmen grew more transcendent, and indeed the faculties and understandings of the lay-counsellors more dull, lazy, and unactive, (for, without the last, the first could have done no hurt,) the Bishops grew jealous that the countenancing another discipline of the Church here, by order of the State, (for those foreign congregations were governed by a Presbytery, according to the custom and constitution of those parts of which they had been natives : the French, Dutch, and Walloons had the free use of several churches according to their own discipline,) would at least diminish the reputation and dignity of the episcopal government, and give some countenance to the factious and schismatical party in England to hope for such a toleration.

Then there wanted not some fiery, turbulent, and contentious persons of the same congregations, who, upon private differences and contests, were ready to inform against their brethren, and to discover what, they thought, might prove of most prejudice to them ; so that, upon pretence that they far exceeded the liberties which were granted to them, and that, under the notion of foreigners, many English separated themselves from the Church, and joined themselves to those congregations, (which possibly was in part true,) the Council-board connived at, or interposed not, whilst the Bishops did some acts of restraint, with which those congregations grew generally discontented, and thought the liberty of their consciences to be taken from them ; which caused in London much com-



plaining of this kind, but much more in the diocese of Norwich; where Dr. Wren, the Bishop there, passionately and warmly proceeded against them: so that many left the kingdom, to the lessening the wealthy manufacture there of kerseys, and narrow cloths, and, which was worse, transporting that mystery into foreign parts.

And, that this might be sure to look like more than what was necessary to the civil policy of the kingdom, whereas, in all former times, the Ambassadors, and all foreign Ministers of state, employed from England into any parts where the reformed religion was exercised, frequented their churches, gave all possible countenance to their profession, and held correspondence with the most active and powerful persons of that relation, and particularly the Ambassador Lieger at Paris had diligently and constantly frequented the Church at Charenton, and held a fair intercourse with those of that religion throughout the kingdom, by which they had still received advantage, that people being industrious and active to get into the secrets of the State, and so deriving all necessary intelligence to those whom they desired to gratify: the contrary to this was now with great industry practised, and some advertisements, if not instructions, given to the Ambassadors there, "to forbear any extraordinary commerce with "the men of that profession." And the Lord Scudamore, who was the last ordinary Ambassador there, before the beginning of this Parliament, whether by the inclinations of his own nature, or by advice from others, not only declined going to Charenton, but furnished his own chapel, in his house, with such ornaments, (as candles upon the communion-table, and the like,) as gave great offence and umbrage to those of the Reformation there, who had not seen the like: besides that he was careful to publish, upon all occasions, by himself, and those who had the nearest relation to him, "that the Church of England looked not on the Hugonots as a part of their "communion;" which was likewise too much, and too industriously discoursed at home.

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They of the Church of England who committed the greatest errors this way, had, undoubtedly, not the least thoughts of making alterations in it towards the countenancing of Popery, as hath been uncharitably conceived: but (having too just cause given them to dislike the passion, and licence, that was taken by some persons in the Reformed Churches, under the notion of conscience and religion, to the disturbance of the peace of kingdoms) unskilfully believed, that the total declining the interest of that party, where it exceeded the necessary bounds of reformation, would make this Church of England looked upon with more reverence; and that thereby the common adversary, the Papist, would abate somewhat of his arrogance and superciliousness; and that both parties, piously considering the charity which religion should beget, might, if not unite, yet refrain from the bitterness and uncharitableness of contention in matters of opinion, and agree in the practical duties of Christians and subjects. Thus, contracting their considerations in too narrow a compass, these men contented themselves with their pious intentions, without duly weighing objections, or the circumstances of policy. And some of our own communion, who differed with them in opinion in this point, though they were in the right, not giving, and, it may be, not knowing the right reasons, rather confirmed than reformed them in their inclinations: neither of them discerning the true and substantial grounds of that policy, upon which that good correspondence had been founded, which they were now about to change: and so the Church of England, not giving the same countenance to those of the religion in foreign parts, which it had formerly done, no sooner was discerned to be under a cloud at home, but those of the religion abroad were glad of the occasion to publish their malice against her, and to enter into the same conspiracy against the Crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the Church.

Now, to return to the course of our history; after all discourses and motions for peace were, for a time, laid

aside; and new thoughts of victory, and utterly subduing the King's party, again entertained; they found one trouble falling upon them, which they had least suspected, want of money; all their vast sums collected, upon any former bills, passed by the King for the relief of Ireland, and payment of the debt to the Scots, and all their money upon subscriptions of plate, and loans upon the public faith, which amounted to incredible proportions, were even quite wasted; and their constant expence was so great, that no ordinary supply would serve their turn; and they easily discerned, that their money only, and not their cause, procured them soldiers of all kinds; and that they could never support their power, if their power was not able to supply them. All voluntary loans were at an end, and the public faith thought a security not to be relied on, and by how much greater the difficulty was, by so much the more fatal would the sinking under it prove; and therefore it was with the more vigour to be resisted. In the end, they resolved upon the thorough execution of their full sovereign power, and to let the people see what they might trust to; in which it is necessary to observe the arts and degrees of their motion.

They first ordered, "that committees should be named  
 "in all counties, to take care for provisions of victuals for  
 "the army, and also for the taking up of horses for service  
 "in the field, dragooners and draught horses, and for bor-  
 "rowing of money and plate to supply the army: and  
 "upon certificate from those committees," (who had  
 power to set what value or rates they pleased upon these  
 provisions of any kind,) "the same should be entered  
 "with their treasurer, who should hereafter repay the  
 "same." It was then alleged, "that this would only draw  
 "supplies from their friends, and the well affected; and  
 "that others, who either liked not their proceedings, or  
 "loved their money better than the liberty of their coun-  
 "try, would not contribute." Upon this it was ordered,  
 "that in case the owners refused to bring in money, pro-  
 "visions, plate, and horse, upon the public faith, for the

New ways  
of raising  
money by  
the two  
Houses.



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“ use of the army; for the better preventing the spoil,  
 “ and embezzling of such provisions of money, plate, and  
 “ horses, by the disorder of the soldiers, and that they  
 “ may not come into the hands of the enemies, that the  
 “ committees, or any two of them, should be authorized,  
 “ and enabled to send for such provisions, money, plate,  
 “ and horses; and to take the same into their custody, and  
 “ to set indifferent value and rate upon them; which  
 “ value they should certify to the treasurers, for the pro-  
 “ portions to be repaid at such time, and in such manner,  
 “ as should be ordered by both Houses of Parliament.”

This was done only to shew what they meant to do over all England, and as a stock of credit to them. For at present it would neither supply their wants; neither was it seasonable for them, or indeed possible to endeavour the execution of it in many counties. London was the place from whence only their present help must come. To them therefore they declared, “ that the King’s army had  
 “ made divers assessments upon several counties, and the  
 “ subjects were compelled, by the soldiers, to pay the  
 “ same; which army, if it continued, would soon ruin  
 “ and waste the whole kingdom; and overthrow religion,  
 “ law, and liberty: that there was no probable way, under  
 “ God, for the suppressing that army, and other ill af-  
 “ fected persons, but by the army raised by the authority  
 “ of the Parliament; which army could not be main-  
 “ tained, without great sums of money; and for raising  
 “ such sums, there could be no act of Parliament passed  
 “ with his Majesty’s assent, albeit there was great justice  
 “ that such money should be raised: that, hitherto, the  
 “ army had been, for the most part, maintained by the  
 “ voluntary contributions of well affected people, who  
 “ had freely contributed according to their abilities: that  
 “ there were divers others within the cities of London and  
 “ Westminster, and the suburbs, that had not contributed  
 “ at all towards the maintenance of that army, or if they  
 “ had, yet not answerable to their estates; who notwith-  
 “ standing received benefit and protection by the same

“ army, as well as any others ; and therefore it was most  
“ just, that they should, as well as others, be charged to BOOK  
“ contribute to the maintenance thereof.” VI.

Upon these grounds and reasons, it was ordained, “ by  
“ the authority of Parliament, that Isaac Pennington, the  
“ then Lord Mayor of London, and some other Aldermen,  
“ and citizens, or any four of them, should have power and  
“ authority to nominate, and appoint, in every ward,  
“ within the city of London, six such persons as they  
“ should think fit, who should have power to inquire of  
“ all who had not contributed upon the propositions con-  
“ cerning the raising of money, plate, &c. and of such  
“ able men who had contributed, yet not according to  
“ their estates and abilities ; and those persons so substi-  
“ tuted, or any four of them, within their several wards  
“ and limits, should have power to assess all persons of  
“ ability who had not contributed, and also those who had  
“ contributed, yet not according to their ability, to pay  
“ such sums of money, according to their estates, as the  
“ assessors, or any four of them, should think reasonable,  
“ so as the same exceeded not the twentieth part of their  
“ estates ; and to nominate fit persons for the receipt  
“ thereof. And if any person so assessed should refuse to  
“ pay the money so assessed upon him, it should be lawful  
“ for the assessors and collectors to levy that sum by way  
“ of distress, and sale of the goods of persons so refusing.  
“ And if any person distrained should make resistance, it  
“ should be lawful for the assessors and collectors to call  
“ to their assistance any of the Trained Bands of London,  
“ or any other of his Majesty’s subjects ; who were re-  
“ quired to be aiding and assisting to them. The bur-  
“ gesses of Westminster and Southwark, and a committee  
“ appointed to that purpose, were to do the same within  
“ those limits, as the other in London.”

And that there might be no stratagem to avoid this tax,  
(so strange and unlooked for,) by a second ordinance in  
explanation of the former, they ordained, “ that, if no suf-  
“ ficient distress could be found for the payment of what

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“ should be assessed, the collectors should have power to  
 “ inquire of any sum of money due to those persons so  
 “ assessed, from what persons soever, for rents, goods, or  
 “ debts, or for any other thing or cause whatsoever. And  
 “ the collectors had power to receive all such debts, until  
 “ the full value of the sums so assessed, and the charges  
 “ in levying or recovering the same, should be satisfied :  
 “ and lest the discovery of those debts might be difficult,  
 “ the same collectors had power to compound for any  
 “ rents, goods, or debts, due to such persons so assessed,  
 “ with any person by whom the same was due, and to give  
 “ full discharges for the money so compounded for, which  
 “ should be good and effectual to all purposes. And if  
 “ the money assessed could not be levied by any of these  
 “ ways, then the persons assessed should be imprisoned in  
 “ such places of the kingdom, and for so long time, as the  
 “ committee of the House of Commons for examinations  
 “ should appoint, and order; and the families of all such  
 “ persons so imprisoned should no longer remain within  
 “ the cities of London or Westminster, the suburbs, or  
 “ the counties adjacent. And all assessors and collectors  
 “ should have the protection of both Houses of Parlia-  
 “ ment, for their indemnity in that service, and receive  
 “ allowance for their pains and charges.” Several ad-  
 ditional and explanatory orders they made for the better  
 execution of this grand one, by every of which some  
 clause of severity, and monstrous irregularity, was added ;  
 and, for the complement of all, they ordered that them-  
 selves, the members of either House, should not be as-  
 sessed by any but themselves.

The truth is, the King was not sorry to see this ordi-  
 nance, which he thought so prodigious, that he should  
 have been a greater gainer by it than they that made it ;  
 seeing it was so palpable and clear a demonstration of the  
 tyranny the people were to live under, that they would  
 easily have discerned the change of their condition : yet  
 he took so much pains, to awaken his subjects to a due  
 apprehension of it, and to apply the thorough considera-



tion of it to them, that he published a declaration upon that ordinance; the which, presenting many things to them, which have since fallen out, may be, in this place, fit to be inserted in the King's own words, which were these :

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“ It would not be believed, (at least great pains have been taken that it might not,) that the pretended ordinance of the militia, (the first attempt that ever was, to make a law by ordinance, without our consent,) or the keeping us out of Hull, and taking our arms and ammunition from us, could any way concern the interest, property, or liberty of the subject: and it was confessed, by that desperate declaration itself of the 26th of May, that if they were found guilty of that charge of destroying the title and interest of our subjects to their lands and goods, it were indeed a very great crime. But it was a strange fatal lethargy which had seized our good people, and kept them from discerning that the nobility, gentry, and commonalty of England were not only stripped of their preeminences and privileges, but of their liberties and estates, when our just rights were denied us; and that no subject could from thenceforth expect to dwell at home, when we were driven from our houses and our towns. It was not possible, that a commission could be granted to the Earl of Essex, to raise an army against us, and, for the safety of our person, and preservation of the peace of the kingdom, to pursue, kill, and slay us, and all who wish well to us, but that, in a short time, inferior commanders, by the same authority, would require our good subjects, for the maintenance of the property of the subject, to supply them with such sums of money as they think fit, upon the penalty of being plundered with all extremity of war, (as the title of Sir Edward Bainton's warrant runs, against our poor subjects in Wiltshire,) and by such rules of unlimited arbitrary power as are inconsistent with the least pretence or shadow of that property, it would seem to defend.

His Majesty's declaration upon occasion of the former ordinance.

“ If there could be yet any understanding so unskilful

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“ and supine to believe, that these disturbers of the public peace do intend any thing but a general confusion, they have brought them a sad argument to their own doors to convince them. After this ordinance and declaration, it is not in any sober man’s power to believe himself to be worth any thing, or that there is such a thing as law, liberty, or property, left in England, under the jurisdiction of these men. And the same power that robs them now of the twentieth part of their estates, hath, by that, but made a claim, and entitled itself to the other nineteen, when it shall be thought fit to hasten the general ruin. Sure, if the minds of all men be not stubbornly prepared for servitude, they will look on this ordinance, as the greatest prodigy of arbitrary power and tyranny, that any age hath brought forth in any kingdom. Other grievances (and the greatest) have been conceived intolerable, rather by the logic and consequence, than by the pressure itself: this at once sweeps away all that the wisdom and justice of Parliaments have provided for them. Is their property in their estates, (so carefully looked to by their ancestors, and so amply established by us, against any possibility of invasion from the Crown), which makes the meanest subject as much a lord of his own as the greatest peer, to be valued, or considered? Here is a twentieth part of every man’s estate, or so much as four men will please to call the twentieth part, taken away at once, and yet a power left to take a twentieth still of that which remains; and this to be levied by such circumstances of severity, as no act of Parliament ever consented to.

“ Is their liberty, which distinguishes subjects from slaves, and in which this free-born nation hath the advantage of all Christendom, dear to them? They shall not only be imprisoned in such places of this kingdom, (a latitude of judgment no court can challenge to itself in any cases,) but for so long time as the committee of the House of Commons for examination shall appoint and order: the House of Commons itself having never

“ assumed, or in the least degree pretended to, a power of  
 “ judicature; having no more authority to administer an  
 “ oath, the only way to discover and find out the truth of  
 “ facts, than to cut off the heads of any of our subjects :  
 “ and this committee being so far from being a part of the  
 “ Parliament, that it is destructive to the whole, by usurp-  
 “ ing to itself all the power of King, Lords, and Commons.  
 “ All who know any thing of Parliaments know that a  
 “ committee of either House ought not, by the law, to  
 “ publish their own results; neither are their conclusions  
 “ of any force, without the confirmation of the House,  
 “ which hath the same power of controlling them, as if  
 “ the matter had never been debated. But that any com-  
 “ mittee should be so contracted, (as this of examination,  
 “ a style no committee ever bore before this Parliament,)  
 “ as to exclude the members of the House, who are equally  
 “ trusted by their country, from being present at the coun-  
 “ sels, is so monstrous to the privileges of Parliament,  
 “ that it is no more in the power of any man to give up  
 “ that freedom, than of himself to order, that, from that  
 “ time, the place for which he serves shall never more  
 “ send a Knight or Burgess to the Parliament; and in  
 “ truth is no less than to alter the whole frame of Govern-  
 “ ment, to pull up Parliaments by the roots, and to com-  
 “ mit the lives, liberties, and estates, of all the people of  
 “ England to the arbitrary power of a few unqualified per-  
 “ sons, who shall dispose thereof according to their dis-  
 “ cretion, without account to any rule or authority what-  
 “ soever.

“ Are their friends, their wives, and children, the great-  
 “ est blessings of peace, and comforts of life, precious to  
 “ them? Would their penury and imprisonment be less  
 “ grievous by those cordials? They shall be divorced from  
 “ them, banished, and shall no longer remain within the  
 “ cities of London and Westminster, the suburbs and the  
 “ counties adjacent; and how far those adjacent counties  
 “ shall extend no man knows. Is there now any thing  
 “ left to enjoy but the liberty to rebel, and destroy one



BOOK VI. "another? Are the outward blessings only of peace, pro-  
 perty, and liberty, taken and forced from our subjects?  
 "Are their consciences free and unassaulted by the vio-  
 lence of these firebrands? Sure the liberty and freedom  
 of conscience cannot suffer by these men. Alas! all  
 these punishments are imposed upon them, because they  
 will not submit to actions contrary to their natural  
 loyalty, to their oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and  
 to their late voluntary protestation, which obliges them  
 to the care of our person, and our just rights.

"How many persons of honour, quality, and reputation,  
 of the several counties of England, are now imprisoned,  
 without any objections against them, but suspicion of  
 their loyalty! How many of the gravest and most sub-  
 stantial citizens of London, by whom the government  
 and discipline of that city was preserved, are disgraced,  
 robbed, and imprisoned, without any process of law, or  
 colour of accusation, but of obedience to the law and  
 government of the kingdom! whilst Anabaptists and  
 Brownists, with the assistance of vicious and debauched  
 persons of desperate fortunes, take upon them to break  
 up and rifle houses, as public and avowed ministers of a  
 new-invented authority. How many godly, pious, and  
 painful Divines, whose lives and learning have made  
 them of reverend estimation, are now slandered with  
 inclination to Popery, discountenanced, and imprisoned,  
 for discharging their consciences, instructing the people  
 in the Christian duty of religion and obedience! whilst  
 schismatical, illiterate, and scandalous preachers fill the  
 pulpits and churches with blasphemy, irreverence, and  
 treason; and incite their auditory to nothing but murder  
 and rebellion.

"We pass over the vulgar charm, by which they have  
 captivated such who have been contented to dispense  
 with their consciences for the preservation of their estates,  
 and by which they persuade men cheerfully to part with  
 this twentieth part of their estates to the good work in  
 hand. For whosoever will give what he hath may escape

“ robbing. They shall be repaid upon the public faith, as  
“ all other monies lent upon the propositions of both  
“ Houses. It may be so. But men must be condemned  
“ to a strange unthriftiness, who will lend upon such se-  
“ curity. The public faith indeed is as great an earnest as  
“ the State can give, and engages the honour, reputation,  
“ and honesty of the nation, and is the act of the king-  
“ dom: it is the security of the King, the Lords, and  
“ Commons, which can never need an executor, can never  
“ die, never be bankrupt; and therefore we willingly con-  
“ sented to it for the indemnity of our good subjects of  
“ Scotland, (who, we hope, will not think the worse of it  
“ for being so often and so cheaply mentioned since.) But  
“ that a vote of one, or both Houses, should be an engage-  
“ ment upon the public faith, is as impossible as that the  
“ committee of the House of Commons for examination  
“ should be the high court of Parliament.

“ And what is or can be said, with the least shadow of  
“ reason, to justify these extravagances? We have not  
“ heard lately of the fundamental laws, which used to  
“ warrant the innovations: these need a refuge even  
“ below those foundations. They will say, they cannot  
“ manage their great undertakings without such extraor-  
“ dinary ways. We think so too. But that proves only,  
“ they have undertaken somewhat they ought not to un-  
“ dertake, not that it is lawful for them to do any thing  
“ that is convenient for those ends. We remembered  
“ them long ago, and we cannot do it too often, of that  
“ excellent speech of Mr. Pym's. The law is that which  
“ puts a difference betwixt good and evil, just and unjust:  
“ if you take away the law, all things will be in a con-  
“ fusion, every man will become a law unto himself; which,  
“ in the depraved condition of human nature, must needs  
“ produce many great enormities. Lust will become a  
“ law, and envy will become a law, covetousness and am-  
“ bition will become laws; and what dictates, what de-  
“ cision, such laws will produce, may easily be discerned:  
“ it may indeed by sad instances over the whole kingdom.

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“ But will posterity believe, that, in the same Parlia-  
 “ ment, this doctrine was avowed with that acclamation,  
 “ and these instances after produced? That, in the same  
 “ Parliament, such care was taken that no man should be  
 “ committed in what case soever, without the cause of his  
 “ imprisonment expressed; and that all men should be  
 “ immediately bailed in all cases bailable; and, during the  
 “ same Parliament, that Alderman Pennington, or indeed  
 “ any body else, but the sworn ministers of justice, should  
 “ imprison whom they would, and for what they would,  
 “ and for as long time as they would? That the King  
 “ should be reproached with breach of privilege, for ac-  
 “ cusing Sir John Hotham of high treason, when with  
 “ force of arms he kept him out of Hull, and despised  
 “ him to his face, because in no case a member of either  
 “ House might be committed, or accused without leave  
 “ of that House of which he is a member; and yet that,  
 “ during the same Parliament, the same Alderman shall  
 “ commit the Earl of Middlesex, a Peer of the realm, and  
 “ the Lord Buckhurst, a member of the House of Com-  
 “ mons, to the Counter, without reprehension? That to  
 “ be a traitor (which is defined, and every man under-  
 “ stands) should be no crime; and to be called Malig-  
 “ nant, which nobody knows the meaning of, should be  
 “ ground enough for close imprisonment? That a law  
 “ should be made, that whosoever should presume to take  
 “ tonnage and poundage without an act of Parliament,  
 “ should incur the penalty of a præmunire; and, in the  
 “ same Parliament, that the same imposition should be  
 “ laid upon our subjects, and taken by order of both  
 “ Houses, without and against our consent? Lastly, that,  
 “ in the same Parliament, a law should be made to declare  
 “ the proceedings and judgment upon ship-money to be  
 “ illegal, and void; and, during that Parliament, that an  
 “ order of both Houses shall, upon pretence of necessity,  
 “ enable four men to take away the twentieth part of their  
 “ estates from all their neighbours, according to their dis-  
 “ cretion.



“ But our good subjects will no longer look upon these  
“ and the like results, as upon the counsels and conclu-  
“ sions of both our Houses of Parliament; (though all  
“ the world knows, even that authority can never justify  
“ things unwarrantable by the law.) They well know  
“ how few of the persons trusted by them are trusted at  
“ their consultations, of above five hundred of the Com-  
“ mons not fourscore; and of the House of Peers, not a  
“ fifth part: that they who are present enjoy not the pri-  
“ vilege and freedom of Parliament, but are besieged by  
“ an army, and awed by the same tumults which drove us  
“ and their fellow members from thence, to consent to  
“ what some few seditious, schismatical persons among  
“ them do propose. These are the men, who, joining  
“ with the Anabaptists and Brownists of London, first  
“ changed the government and discipline of that city; and  
“ now, by the pride and power of that city, would undo  
“ the kingdom: whilst their Lord Mayor, a person ac-  
“ cused and known to be guilty of high treason, by a new  
“ legislative power of his own, suppresses and reviles the  
“ Book of Common Prayer, robs and imprisons whom he  
“ thinks fit; and, with the rabble of his faction, gives  
“ laws to both Houses of Parliament, and tells them,  
“ *They will have no accommodation*: whilst the members  
“ sent, and intrusted by their countries, are expelled the  
“ House, or committed, for refusing to take the oath of  
“ association to live and die with the Earl of Essex, as  
“ very lately Sir Sydney Mountague. These are the men  
“ who have presumed to send Ambassadors, and to enter  
“ into treaties with foreign States in their own behalf,  
“ having at this time an agent of their own with the  
“ States of Holland, to negociate for them upon private  
“ instructions: these are the men who, not thinking they  
“ have yet brought mischief enough unto this kingdom, at  
“ this time invite and solicit our subjects of Scotland, to  
“ enter this land with an army against us: in a word,  
“ these are the men who have made this last devouring  
“ ordinance to take away all law, liberty, and property

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“ from our people, and have by it really acted that upon  
“ our people, which with infinite malice, and no colour or  
“ ground, was laboured to be infused into them, to have  
“ been our intention by the commissions of array.

“ We have done: What power and authority these  
“ men have, or will have, we know not: for ourself, we  
“ challenge none such. We look upon the pressures and  
“ inconveniences our good subjects bear, even by us, and  
“ our army, (which the army first raised by them enforced  
“ us to raise in our defence, and their refusal of all offers  
“ and desires of treaty enforceth us to keep,) with very  
“ much sadness of heart. We are so far from requiring a  
“ twentieth part of their estates, though for their own vi-  
“ sible preservation, that, as we have already sold or  
“ pawned our own jewels, and coined our own plate, so  
“ we are willing to sell all our own lands and houses for  
“ their relief: yet we do not doubt but our good subjects  
“ will seriously consider our condition, and their own du-  
“ ties, and think our readiness to protect them with the  
“ utmost hazard of our life, deserves their readiness to  
“ assist us with some part of their fortunes; and, whilst  
“ other men give a twentieth part of their estates to en-  
“ able them to forfeit the other nineteen, that they will  
“ extend themselves to us in a liberal and free proportion,  
“ for the preservation of the rest, and for the maintenance  
“ of God’s true religion, the laws of the land, the liberty  
“ of the subject, and the safety and very being of Parlia-  
“ ments, and this kingdom: for if all these ever were, or  
“ can be, in manifest danger, it is now in this present re-  
“ bellion against us.

“ Lastly, we will and require all our loving subjects, of  
“ what degree or quality soever, as they will answer it to  
“ God, to us, and to posterity, by their oaths of allegiance  
“ and supremacy; as they would not be looked upon now,  
“ and remembered hereafter, as betrayers of the laws and  
“ liberties they were born to; that they in no degree sub-  
“ mit to this wild pretended ordinance, and that they pre-  
“ sume not to give any encouragement or assistance to

“ the army now in rebellion against us ; which if notwithstanding they shall do, they must expect from us the severest punishment the law can inflict, and a perpetual infamy with all good men.”

Whatsoever every man could say to another against that ordinance, and whatsoever the King said to them all against it, it did bring in a great supply of money, and gave them a stock of credit to borrow more ; so that the army was again drawn out, though but to winter quarters, twenty miles from London, and the Earl of Essex fixed his head quarters at Windsor, to straiten the King's new garrison at Reading, and sent strong parties still abroad, which got as much ground as, at that time of the year, could reasonably be expected ; that is, brought those adjacent counties entirely under the obedience of the Parliament, which would at least have kept themselves neutral : and still persuaded the people, “ that their work was even at an end, and that the King's forces would be swallowed up in a very short time :” so that there was no day, in which they did not publish themselves to have obtained some notable victory, or taken some town, when in truth each party wisely abstained from disturbing the other : yet the bulk of their supply came only from the city of London. For though their ordinance extended over the whole kingdom, they had power to execute it only there ; for it was not yet time to try the affections of all places within their own verge, with the severe exercise of that authority.

And therefore divers of the wealthiest and most substantial citizens of London, observing liberty to be taken by all men to petition the Houses, and the multitude of the petitioners to carry great authority with them, and from those multitudes, and that authority, the brand to have been laid upon the city, “ of being an enemy to peace,” met together, and prepared a very modest and moderate petition to the Houses ; in which they desired “ such propositions and addresses might be made by them



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“to his Majesty, as he might with his honour comply with, and thereby a happy peace ensue;” which, being signed by many thousand hands, was ready to be presented, but was not received by the House of Commons, for no other reason publicly given, but “that it was prepared by a multitude;” and objections were framed against the principal promoters of it, upon other pretences of delinquency; so that they were compelled to forsake the town, and that party were, for the present, discountenanced.

At the same time the inhabitants of Westminster, St. Martin's, and Covent Garden, who always underwent the imputation of being well affected to the King, prepared the like petition, and met with the same reproach, being strictly inhibited to approach the Houses with more than six in company. This unequal kind of proceeding added nothing to their reputation, and they easily discerned those humours, thus obstructed, would break out the more violently: therefore they again resumed all professions of a desire of peace, and appointed a committee to prepare propositions to be sent to the King to that purpose; and because they found that would be a work of time, (for the reasons which will be anon remembered,) and that many arts were to be applied to the several affections, and to wipe out the imagination that the city desired peace upon any other terms than they did, and the disadvantage that accrued to them by such imagination, and also to stay the appetite of those who were importunate to have any advance made towards peace, having procured, by the activity of their agents and ministers, to have such a Common Council chosen for the city, as would undoubtedly comply with their desires and designs, they underhand directed their own Mayor to engage that body in such a petition to his Majesty, as, carrying the sense and reputation of the whole city, might yet signify nothing to the prejudice of the two Houses; and so a petition was framed in these words:

To the King's most excellent Majesty;  
*The humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons  
 of the city of London,*

“ Sheweth,

“ That the petitioners, your Majesty's most humble and  
 “ loyal subjects, being much pierced with the long and  
 “ great divisions between your Majesty and both your  
 “ Houses of Parliament, and with the sad and bloody ef-  
 “ fects thereof, both here and in Ireland, are yet more  
 “ deeply wounded by the misapprehension, which your  
 “ Majesty seemeth to entertain of the love and loyalty of  
 “ this your city, as if there were some cause of fear, or  
 “ suspicion of danger to your royal person, if your Ma-  
 “ jesty should return hither; and that this is made the  
 “ unhappy bar to that blessed reconciliation with your  
 “ great and most faithful council for preventing that de-  
 “ solation, and destruction, which is now most apparently  
 “ imminent to your Majesty, and all your kingdoms.

A petition  
 of the city  
 to the King.

“ For satisfaction therefore of your Majesty, and clear-  
 “ ing of the petitioners' innocency, they most humbly de-  
 “ clare, as formerly they have done, that they are no way  
 “ conscious of any disloyalty, but abhor all thoughts  
 “ thereof; and that they are resolved to make good their  
 “ late solemn protestation, and sacred vow, made to Al-  
 “ mighty God; and, with the last drop of their dearest  
 “ bloods, to defend and maintain the true Reformed Pro-  
 “ testant Religion, and, according to the duty of their al-  
 “ legiance, your Majesty's royal person, honour, and es-  
 “ tate, (whatsoever is maliciously and falsely suggested to  
 “ your Majesty to the contrary,) as well as the power and  
 “ privileges of Parliament, and the lawful rights and li-  
 “ berty of the subject: and do hereby engage themselves,  
 “ their estates, and all they have, to their utmost power,  
 “ to defend and preserve your Majesty, and both Houses  
 “ of Parliament, from all tumults, affronts, and violence,  
 “ with as much loyalty, love, and duty, as ever citizens

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“ expressed towards your Majesty, or any of your royal progenitors in their greatest glory.

“ The petitioners therefore, upon their bended knees, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, to return to your Parliament, (accompanied with your royal, not martial attendance,) to the end that religion, laws, and liberties, may be settled and secured, and whatsoever is amiss in church and commonwealth reformed by their advice, according to the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom: and that such a peace may thereby be obtained, as shall be for the glory of God, the honour and happiness of your Majesty and posterity, and welfare of all your loyal subjects; who, (the petitioners are fully assured,) whatsoever is given out to the contrary, do unanimously desire the peace herein expressed.”

Though this petition was in effect no other than to desire the King to disband his army, and to put himself into the absolute disposal of the Parliament, and therefore all wise men concluded that no great progress would be made by it towards peace; yet so sotted and infatuated were the people, that, upon this very petition, they were prevailed with to submit to another subscription for money and plate, for the necessary provision of arms, ammunition, and pay of their army, until their disbanding and return home to their several counties: that so they might not be occasioned, through want of pay, to plunder, rob, or pillage by the way homewards, after their discharge and dismissal. So that men were persuaded that this was now the last tax they should be invited to, though every one of those ordinances and declarations loaded the King with some new calumnies and reproaches, that it was plain the authors of them meant not so soon to put themselves under his subjection.

This petition was, about the tenth of January, 1642, presented to the King at Oxford, by some Aldermen, and others of the Common Council, who were for the most part of moderate inclinations. The King considered sadly what answer to return; for, albeit it appeared that the pe-



tion had been craftily framed by those who had no thoughts of peace, and that there was no argument in it to hope any good from that people; yet there were, to vulgar understandings, very specious and popular professions of great piety, and zeal to his service, and care of his security; and he was to be very tender in seeming to doubt the inclinations and affections of that city, by whose strength chiefly the war was supported, and that strength procured by corrupting those affections: and therefore the King was not sorry to have this opportunity of saying somewhat, and communicating himself freely to the city, being persuaded, that the ill they did, proceeded rather from misinformation, than any general or habitual malice in them. All his proclamations, messages, and declarations, had been with so much industry suppressed there, that they were not in truth generally informed of the matter of fact, and the justice of the King's cause; and therefore he was persuaded that if he enlarged himself, in his answer to this petition, and exposed those few men who were most notoriously malignant against the government of the Church and State, and who were generally known to be so, to the knowledge of the people, that it would at least lessen their power and ability to do hurt: and so he resolved to return an answer to them in these words:

“That his Majesty doth not entertain any misapprehension of the love and loyalty of his city of London; as he hath always expressed a singular regard and esteem of the affections of that city, and is still desirous to make it his chief place of residence, and to continue, and renew many marks of his favour to it; so he believes, much the better and greater part of that his city is full of love, duty, and loyalty to his Majesty; and that the tumults which heretofore forced his Majesty, for his safety, to leave that place, though they were contrived and encouraged by some principal members thereof, (who are since well known, though they are above the reach of justice,) consisted more of desperate persons of the suburbs, and the neighbouring towns, (who were

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“ misled too by the cunning and malice of their seducers,) than of the inhabitants of that city. He looks on his good subjects there as persons groaning under the same burden which doth oppress his Majesty, and awed by the same persons who begot those tumults, and the same army which gave battle to his Majesty: and therefore, as no good subject can more desire, from his soul, a composure of the general distractions; so no good citizen can more desire the establishment of the particular peace and prosperity of that place, by his Majesty’s access thither, than his Majesty himself doth.

“ But his Majesty desires his good subjects of London seriously to consider, what confidence his Majesty can have of security there, whilst the laws of the land are so notoriously despised, and trampled under foot, and the wholesome government of that city, heretofore so famous over all the world, is now submitted to the arbitrary power of a few desperate persons, of no reputation, but for malice and disloyalty to him; whilst arms are taken up, not only without, but against his consent and express command, and collections publicly made, and contributions avowed, for the maintenance of the army which hath given him battle, and therein used all possible means treason and malice could suggest to them, to have taken his life from him, and to have destroyed his royal issue; whilst such of his Majesty’s subjects, who, out of duty and affection to his Majesty, and compassion of their bleeding country, have laboured for peace, are reviled, injured, and murdered, even by the magistrates of that city, or by their directions: lastly, what hopes his Majesty can have of safety there, whilst Alderman Pennington, their pretended Lord Mayor, the principal author of those calamities which so nearly threaten the ruin of that famous city, Ven, Foulke, and Manwairing, all persons notoriously guilty of schism and high treason, commit such outrages, in oppressing, robbing, and imprisoning, according to their discretion, all such his Majesty’s loving subjects, whom they are



“ pleased to suspect for but wishing well to his Ma- BOOK  
“ jesty. VI.

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“ And his Majesty would know, whether the petitioners  
“ believe, that the reviling and suppressing the Book of  
“ Common Prayer, established in this Church ever since  
“ the Reformation, the discountenancing and imprisoning  
“ godly, learned, and painful preachers, and the cherishing  
“ and countenancing of Brownists, Anabaptists, and all  
“ manner of sectaries, be the way to defend and maintain  
“ the true Reformed Protestant Religion? That to comply  
“ with and assist persons who have actually attempted to  
“ kill his Majesty, and to allow and favour libels, pasquils,  
“ and seditious sermons against his Majesty, be to defend  
“ his royal person, and honour, according to the duty of  
“ their allegiance? Whether to imprison men’s persons,  
“ and to plunder their houses, because they will not rebel  
“ against his Majesty, nor assist those that do; whether  
“ to destroy their property by taking away the twentieth  
“ part of their estates from them, and, by the same arbi-  
“ trary power, to refer to four standers-by, of their own  
“ faction, to judge what that twentieth part is, be to de-  
“ fend the lawful rights and liberties of the subject? And  
“ if they think these actions to be instances of either;  
“ whether they do not know the persons before named to  
“ be guilty of them all? or whether they think it possible,  
“ that Almighty God can bless that city, and preserve it  
“ from destruction, whilst persons of such known guilt  
“ and wickedness are defended, and justified among them,  
“ against the power of that law, by which they can only  
“ subsist.

“ His Majesty is so far from suffering himself to be in-  
“ censed against the whole city, by the actions of these ill  
“ men, though they have hitherto been so prevalent, as to  
“ make the affections of the rest of little use to him; and  
“ is so willing to be with them, and to protect them, that  
“ the trade, wealth, and glory thereof, so decayed and  
“ eclipsed by these public distractions, may again be the  
“ envy of all foreign nations, that he doth once more



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“graciously offer his free and general pardon to all the inhabitants of that his city of London, the suburbs and city of Westminster, (except the persons formerly excepted by his Majesty,) if they shall yet return to their duty, loyalty, and obedience. And if his good subjects of that his city of London shall first solemnly declare, that they will defend the known laws of the land, and will submit to, and be governed by, no other rule; if they shall first manifest, by defending themselves, and maintaining their own rights, liberties, and interests, and suppressing any force and violence unlawfully raised against those and his Majesty, their power to defend and preserve him from all tumults, affronts, and violence: lastly, if they shall apprehend, and commit to safe custody, the persons of those four men who enrich themselves by the spoil and oppression of his loving subjects, and the ruin of the city, that his Majesty may proceed against them by the course of law, as guilty of high treason; his Majesty will speedily return to them with his royal, and without his martial attendance, and will use his utmost endeavours, that they may hereafter enjoy all the blessings of peace and plenty; and will no longer expect obedience from them, than he shall, with all the faculties of his soul, labour in the preserving and advancing the true Reformed Protestant Religion, the laws of the land, the liberty and property of the subjects, and the just privileges of Parliament.

“If, notwithstanding all this, the art and interest of these men can prevail so far, that they involve more men in their guilt, and draw that his city to sacrifice its present happiness, and future hopes, to their pride, fury, and malice, his Majesty shall only give them this warning: that whosoever shall henceforward take up arms, without his consent, contribute any money or plate, upon what pretence of authority soever, for maintenance of the army under the command of the Earl of Essex, or any other army in rebellion against him, or shall pay tonnage and poundage, till the same shall be settled by

“ act of Parliament, every such person must expect the  
“ severest punishment the law can inflict; and, in the  
“ mean time, his Majesty shall seize upon any part of his  
“ estate within his power, for the relief and support of  
“ him and his army, raised and maintained for the de-  
“ fence of his person, the laws, and this his kingdom:  
“ and since he denies to his Majesty the duty and benefit  
“ of his subjection, by giving assistance to rebels, which,  
“ by the known laws of the land, is high treason; his Ma-  
“ jesty shall likewise deny him the benefit of his protec-  
“ tion, and shall not only signify to all his foreign minis-  
“ ters, that such persons shall receive no advantage by  
“ being his subject, but shall, by all other ways and means,  
“ proceed against him as a public enemy to his Majesty  
“ and this kingdom.

“ Yet his Majesty hopes, and doubts not, but his good  
“ subjects of London will call to mind the acts of their  
“ predecessors, the duty, affection, loyalty, and merit to-  
“ wards their Princes, the renown they have had with all  
“ posterity for, and the blessing of Heaven which always  
“ accompanied, those virtues; and will consider the per-  
“ petual scorn and infamy which unavoidably will follow  
“ them and their children, if infinitely the meaner part in  
“ quality, and much the lesser part in number, shall be  
“ able to alter the government so admirably established,  
“ destroy the trade so excellently settled, and to waste the  
“ wealth so industriously gotten, of that flourishing city:  
“ and they will easily gather up the courage and resolu-  
“ tion to join with his Majesty in defence of that religion,  
“ law, and liberty, which hitherto hath, and only can,  
“ make themselves, his Majesty, and his kingdom, happy.

“ For concurring with the advice of his two Houses of  
“ Parliament, which, with reference to the commonwealth,  
“ may be as well at this distance, as by being at White-  
“ hall, his Majesty doubts not, but his good subjects of  
“ London well know, how far, beyond the example of his  
“ predecessors, his Majesty hath concurred with their ad-  
“ vice, in passing of such laws, by which he willingly

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“ parted with many of his known rights, for the benefit of  
“ his subjects; which the fundamental constitutions of  
“ this kingdom did not oblige him to consent unto; and  
“ hath used all possible means to beget a right under-  
“ standing between them: and will therefore apply them-  
“ selves to those who, by making just, peaceable, and ho-  
“ nourable propositions to his Majesty, can only beget  
“ that concurrence.”

This answer the King sent by a servant of his own, supposing, that if he sent by the messengers who brought the petition, it might either be suppressed, or not communicated in that manner as he desired. Besides, the messengers themselves, after the King had caused it to be read to them, were very well contented that it should be delivered by other hands than theirs. So they promised his Majesty, that they would procure a common hall, (which is the most general assembly of the city, the meanest person being admitted,) to be called as soon as they returned; where his messenger might deliver it: and having been graciously used by the King and the court, after two days' stay, they returned from Oxford together with the gentleman sent by his Majesty. When they came to London, the contents of the answer were quickly known, though not delivered; and the two Houses made an order, “ that the Lord Mayor should not call a common  
“ hall, till he received farther direction from them.” So that, though the gentleman sent by the King often solicited the Lord Mayor, “ that he would call a common  
“ hall, at which he was to deliver a message from the  
“ King,” many days passed before any orders were issued to that purpose.

At last, a day was appointed; and, at the same time, a committee of the Lords and Commons were sent to be present, to see that it might not have such a reception, as might render their interest suspected. As soon as the gentleman sent by the King had read his Majesty's answer, the Earl of Manchester told them, “ of the high  
“ value the Parliament had of the city; that they had



“ considered of those wounding aspersions, which, in that  
“ answer, were cast upon persons of such eminent affec-  
“ tion in their city, and upon others, of great fidelity and  
“ trust among them: that they owned themselves to be  
“ equally interested in all things that concerned them,  
“ and would stand by them with their lives and fortunes,  
“ for the preservation of the city in general, and those  
“ persons in particular who had been faithful, and de-  
“ served well both of the Parliament and kingdom. And  
“ they would pursue all means with their lives and for-  
“ tunes, that might be for the preservation of that city,  
“ and for the procuring of safety, happiness, and peace, to  
“ the whole kingdom.”

As soon as his Lordship had finished his oration, which was received with marvellous acclamations, Mr. Pym enlarged himself, in a speech then printed, upon the several parts of the King's answer, (for it was so long before it was delivered, that the printed copies from Oxford, which were printed there after the messenger was gone so long that all men concluded it was delivered, were public and in all hands,) and told them the sense of the two Houses of Parliament, upon every part of it. Among the rest, “ that the demanding the Lord Mayor, and the other  
“ three citizens, was against the privilege of Parliament,  
“ (two of them being members of the House of Com-  
“ mons,) and most dishonourable to the city, that the  
“ Lord Mayor of London should be subjected to the vio-  
“ lence of every base fellow; and that they should be  
“ commanded to deliver up their chief magistrates, and  
“ such eminent members of the city, to the King's plea-  
“ sure, only because they had done their duty, in adhering  
“ to the Parliament, for the defence of the kingdom.”

He told them, “ that, to the objection that the govern-  
“ ment of the city had been managed by a few desperate  
“ persons, and that they did exercise an arbitrary power,  
“ the two Houses gave them this testimony, that they  
“ had, in most of the great occasions concerning the go-  
“ vernment of the city, followed their direction; and that

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“ direction which the Parliament had given, they had executed; and they must and would maintain to be such, as stood with their honour in giving it, and the others, trust and fidelity in performing it.”

To the objection, “ that the property of the subject was destroyed, by taking away the twentieth part by an arbitrary power,” he told them, “ that that ordinance did not require a twentieth part, but did limit the assessors that they should not go beyond a twentieth part, and that was done by a power derived from both Houses of Parliament; the Lords, who had an hereditary interest in making of laws in this kingdom; and the Commons, who were elected and chosen to represent the whole body of the commonalty, and trusted, for the good of the people, whenever they see cause to charge the kingdom.” He said farther, “ that the same law which did enable the two Houses of Parliament to raise forces to maintain and defend the safety of religion, and of the kingdom, did likewise enable them to require contributions whereby those forces might be maintained; or else it were a vain power to raise forces, if they had not a power likewise to maintain them in that service for which they were raised.” He observed, “ that it was reported, that the King declared he would send some messengers to observe their carriage in the city, and what was done among them: the Parliament had just cause to doubt, that those would be messengers of sedition and trouble, and therefore desired them to observe and find them out, that they might know who they were.” He concluded with “ commending unto their consideration, the great danger that they were all in; and that the danger could not be kept off, in all likelihood, but by the army that was then on foot;” and assured them, “ that the Lords and Commons were so far from being frightened by any thing in that answer, that they had, for themselves, and the members of both Houses, declared a farther contribution towards the maintenance of that army; and could not but hope, and

“desire, that the city, which had shewed so much good  
“affection in the former necessities of the State, would be  
“sensible of their own, and of the condition of the whole  
“kingdom, and add to that which they had already done,  
“some farther contribution, whereby that army might be  
“maintained for all their safeties.”

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Whether the solemnity for the reception of this message after it was known what the contents were, and the bringing so great a guard of armed men to the place where it was to be delivered, frightened the well affected party of the city from coming thither, or frightened them, when they were there, from expressing those affections, I know not. But it is certain, these speeches and discourses were received and entertained with all imaginable applause, and that meeting was concluded with a general acclamation, “that they would live and die with the Houses,” and other expressions of that nature. So that all thoughts of farther address, or compliance with his Majesty from the city, were so entirely and absolutely laid aside, that the licence of seditious and treasonable discourses daily increased; insomuch, that complaint being made to the then Lord Mayor, that a certain desperate person had said, “that he hoped shortly to wash his hands in the King’s blood,” that minister of justice refused to send any warrant, or to give any direction to any officer, for the apprehension of him. This was the success of that petition and answer.

The Houses now began to speak themselves of sending propositions to the King for peace. For, how great soever the compliance seemed with them from the city, or the country, they well enough discerned that compliance was generally upon the hope and expectation that they would procure a speedy peace. And they had now procured that to pass both Houses, which they only wanted, the bill for the extirpation of episcopacy: in the doing whereof, they used marvellous art and industry. They who every day did somewhat, how little soever then taken notice of, to make peace impossible, and resolved, that no



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peace could be safe for them, but such a one as would be unsafe for the King, well enough knew that they should never be able to hold up, and carry on the war against the King in England, but by the help of an army out of Scotland; which they had no hope to procure but upon the stock of the alteration of the government of the Church; to which that nation was violently inclined. But to compass that was very difficult; very much the major part, even of those members who still continued with them, being cordially affected to the government established, at least not affected to any other. To those therefore, who were so far engaged as to desire to have it in their power to compel the King to consent to such a peace as they desired, they represented "the consequence of getting the Scots  
"to declare for them; which would more terrify the  
"King, and keep the northern parts in subjection more,  
"than any forces they should be able to raise: that it was  
"impossible to draw such a declaration from them, without  
"first declaring themselves that they would alter the go-  
"vernment by the Bishops; which that people pretended  
"to believe the only justifiable ground to take up arms."  
To others, which was indeed their public, and avowed, and current argument in debates, they alleged, "that they  
"could not expect that any peace would be effected by  
"the King's free concurrence to any message they could  
"send to him, but that it must arise and result from a  
"treaty between them, upon such propositions as either  
"party would make upon their own interest: that it could  
"not be expected that such propositions would be made  
"on either side, as would be pertinaciously insisted on by  
"them who made them; it being the course, in all affairs  
"of this nature, to ask more than was expected to be con-  
"sented to; that it concerned them as much, to make  
"demands of great moment to the King, from which they  
"meant to recede, as others upon which they must insist:  
"that all men knew the inclination and affection the King  
"had to the Church, and therefore if he saw that in dan-  
"ger, he would rescue it at any price, and very probably

“ their departing from their proposition concerning the  
 “ Church, might be the most powerful argument to the  
 “ King, to gratify them with the militia.”

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By these artifices, and especially by concluding ob-  
 stinately, “ that no propositions should be sent to the  
 “ King for peace, till the bill for extirpation of Bishops  
 “ was passed the Lords’ House,” (where it would never  
 otherwise have been submitted to,) they had their desire,  
 and, about the end of January, they sent the Earls of  
 Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland, with  
 eight members of the Commons, to Oxford, with their  
 petition and propositions. And here I cannot omit one  
 stratagem, which, at that time, occasioned some mirth.  
 The common people of London were persuaded, “ that  
 “ there was so great scarcity of victual and provisions at  
 “ Oxford, and in all the King’s quarters, that they were  
 “ not without danger of starving; and that, if all other  
 “ ways failed, that alone would in a short time bring the  
 “ King to them.” To make good this report, provisions  
 of all kinds, even to bread, were sent in waggons, and on  
 horses, from London to Oxford, for the supply of this  
 committee: when, without doubt, they found as great  
 plenty of all things where they came, as they had left be-  
 hind them. The petition presented to his Majesty with  
 the propositions were, in these words, at the presentation,  
 read by the Earl of Northumberland.

Commis-  
 sioners sent  
 to the King  
 with propo-  
 sitions of  
 peace about  
 the end of  
 January.

*The humble Desires and Propositions of the Lords and  
 Commons in Parliament, tendered to his Majesty.*

“ We your Majesty’s most humble and faithful subjects,  
 “ the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, hav-  
 “ ing in our thoughts the glory of God, your Majesty’s  
 “ honour, and the prosperity of your people, and being  
 “ most grievously afflicted with the pressing miseries, and  
 “ calamities; which have overwhelmed your two kingdoms  
 “ of England and Ireland, since your Majesty hath, by the  
 “ persuasion of evil counsellors, withdrawn yourself from

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“ the Parliament, raised an army against it, and, by force  
 “ thereof, protected delinquents from the justice of it,  
 “ constraining us to take arms for the defence of our reli-  
 “ gion, laws, liberties, privileges of Parliament, and for  
 “ the sitting of the Parliament in safety ; which fears and  
 “ dangers are continued, and increased, by the raising,  
 “ drawing together, and arming of great numbers of Pa-  
 “ pists, under the command of the Earl of Newcastle;  
 “ likewise by making the Lord Herbert of Ragland, and  
 “ other known Papists, commanders of great forces,  
 “ whereby many grievous oppressions, rapines, and cruel-  
 “ ties have been and are daily exercised upon the persons  
 “ and estates of your people, much innocent blood hath  
 “ been spilt, and the Papists have attained means of at-  
 “ tempting, with hopes of effecting, their mischievous de-  
 “ signs of rooting out the Reformed Religion, and de-  
 “ stroying the professors thereof : in the tender sense and  
 “ compassion of these evils, under which your people and  
 “ kingdom lie, (according to the duty, which we owe to  
 “ God, your Majesty, and the kingdom, for which we are  
 “ trusted,) do most earnestly desire, that an end may be  
 “ put to these great distempers and distractions, for the  
 “ preventing of that desolation which doth threaten all  
 “ your Majesty’s dominions. And as we have rendered,  
 “ and still are ready to render to your Majesty, that sub-  
 “ jection, obedience, and service, which we owe unto you ;  
 “ so we most humbly beseech your Majesty, to remove the  
 “ causes of this war, and to vouchsafe us that peace and  
 “ protection, which we and our ancestors have formerly  
 “ enjoyed under your Majesty, and your royal predeces-  
 “ sors, and graciously to accept and grant these our most  
 “ humble desires and propositions :

1. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to disband your  
 “ armies, as we likewise shall be ready to disband all those  
 “ forces which we have raised ; and that you will be  
 “ pleased to return to your Parliament.

2. “ That you will leave delinquents to a legal trial, and  
 “ judgment of Parliament.



3. " That the Papists may not only be disbanded, but  
" disarmed according to law.

4. " That your Majesty will be pleased to give your  
" royal assent unto the bill for taking away the super-  
" stitious innovations; to the bill for the utter abolishing  
" and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their  
" Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deans, Sub-Deans,  
" Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons, and Pre-  
" bendaries, and all Chanters,\* Chancellors, Treasurers,  
" Sub-Treasurers, Succentors, and Sacrists, and all Vicars  
" Choral, Choristers, old Vicars, and new Vicars of any  
" cathedral or collegiate church, and all other their under-  
" officers, out of the Church of England: to the bill  
" against scandalous ministers: to the bill against plura-  
" lities; and to the bill for consultation to be had with  
" godly, religious, and learned Divines. That your Ma-  
" jesty will be pleased to promise to pass such other good  
" bills for settling of church-government, as, upon con-  
" sultation with the assembly of the said Divines, shall  
" be resolved on by both Houses of Parliament, and by  
" them presented to your Majesty.

5. " That your Majesty having expressed, in your an-  
" swer to the nineteen propositions of both Houses of  
" Parliament, an hearty affection and intention for the  
" rooting out of Popery out of this kingdom; and that, if  
" both the Houses of Parliament can yet find a more ef-  
" fectual course to disable Jesuits, Priests, and Popish  
" Recusants, from disturbing the state, or eluding the  
" laws, that you would willingly give your consent unto  
" it; that you would be graciously pleased, for the better  
" discovery and speedier conviction of Recusants, that an  
" oath may be established by act of Parliament, to be ad-  
" ministered in such manner as by both Houses shall be  
" agreed on; wherein they shall abjure and renounce the  
" Pope's supremacy, the doctrine of transubstantiation,  
" purgatory, worshipping of the consecrated host, cruci-  
" fixes, and images: and the refusing the said oath, being  
" tendered in such manner as shall be appointed by act

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“ of Parliament, shall be a sufficient conviction in law of  
 “ recusancy. And that your Majesty will be graciously  
 “ pleased to give your royal assent unto a bill, for the  
 “ education of the children of Papists by Protestants in  
 “ the Protestant Religion. That, for the more effectual  
 “ execution of the laws against Popish Recusants, your  
 “ Majesty will be pleased to consent to a bill, for the true  
 “ levying of the penalties against them; and that the  
 “ same penalties may be levied, and disposed of in such  
 “ manner as both Houses of Parliament shall agree on, so  
 “ as your Majesty be at no loss; and likewise to a bill,  
 “ whereby the practice of Papists against the state may  
 “ be prevented, and the law against them duly executed.

6. “ That the Earl of Bristol may be removed from  
 “ your Majesty’s councils; and that both he, and the  
 “ Lord Herbert, eldest son to the Earl of Worcester, may  
 “ likewise be restrained from coming within the verge of  
 “ the Court; and that they may not bear any office, or have  
 “ any employments concerning state or commonwealth.

7. “ That your Majesty will be graciously pleased, by  
 “ act of Parliament, to settle the militia both by sea and  
 “ land, and for the forts and ports of the kingdom, in  
 “ such a manner as shall be agreed on by both Houses.

8. “ That your Majesty will be pleased, by your letters  
 “ patents, to make Sir John Brampton, Chief Justice of  
 “ the Court of King’s Bench; William Lenthall Esquire,  
 “ the now Speaker of the Commons’ House, Master of  
 “ the Rolls; and to continue the Lord Chief Justice  
 “ Banks, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas;  
 “ and likewise to make Mr. Serjeant Wild, Chief Baron  
 “ of your Court of Exchequer; and that Mr. Justice  
 “ Bacon may be continued; and Mr. Serjeant Rolls, and  
 “ Mr. Serjeant Atkins, made Justices of the King’s  
 “ Bench: that Mr. Justice Reeves, and Mr. Justice Fos-  
 “ ter, may be continued; and Mr. Serjeant Pheasant,  
 “ made one of the Justices of your Court of Common  
 “ Pleas; that Mr. Serjeant Creswell, Mr. Samuel Brown,  
 “ and Mr. John Puleston, may be Barons of the Exche-

“quer; and that all these, and all the Judges of the  
 “same Courts, for the time to come, may hold their  
 “places by letters patents under the Great Seal, *Quamdiu*  
 “*se bene gesserint*: and that the several persons not before  
 “named, that do hold any of these places before men-  
 “tioned, may be removed.

9. “That all such persons, as have been put out of the  
 “commissions of peace, or *Oyer and Terminer*, or from  
 “being *Custodes Rotulorum*, since the first day of April,  
 “1642, (other than such as were put out by desire of both  
 “or either of the Houses of Parliament,) may again be  
 “put into those commissions and offices; and that such  
 “persons may be put out of those commissions and of-  
 “fices, as shall be excepted against by both Houses of  
 “Parliament.

10. “That your Majesty will be pleased to pass the bill  
 “now presented to your Majesty, to vindicate and secure  
 “the privileges of Parliament, from the ill consequence of  
 “the late precedent in the charge and proceeding against  
 “the Lord Kimbolton, now Earl of Manchester, and the  
 “five members of the House of Commons.

11. “That your royal assent may be given unto such  
 “acts as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament,  
 “for the satisfying and paying the debts and damages,  
 “wherein the two Houses of Parliament have engaged  
 “the public faith of the kingdom.

12. “That your Majesty will be pleased, according to a  
 “gracious answer heretofore received from you, to enter  
 “into a more strict alliance with the States of the United  
 “Provinces, and other neighbour Princes and States of  
 “the Protestant Religion, for the defence and mainte-  
 “nance thereof against all designs and attempts of the  
 “Popish and Jesuitical faction, to subvert and suppress  
 “it; whereby your subjects may hope to be free from  
 “the mischiefs which this kingdom hath endured, through  
 “the power which some of that party have had in your  
 “counsels; and will be much encouraged, in a parlia-  
 “mentary way, for your aid and assistance in restoring



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“ your royal sister, and the Prince Elector, to those digni-  
 “ ties and dominions which belong unto them; and re-  
 “ lieving the other Protestant Princes who have suffered  
 “ in the same cause.

13. “ That in the general pardon, which your Majesty  
 “ hath been pleased to offer to your subjects, all offences  
 “ and misdemeanors committed before the 10th of Ja-  
 “ nuary, 1641, which have been or shall be questioned, or  
 “ proceeded against in Parliament, upon complaint in the  
 “ House of Commons, before the 10th of January, 1643,  
 “ shall be excepted; which offences and misdemeanors  
 “ shall nevertheless be taken, and adjudged to be fully  
 “ discharged against all other inferior Courts. That like-  
 “ wise there shall be an exception of all offences com-  
 “ mitted by any person or persons, which hath, or have  
 “ had, any hand or practice in the rebellion of Ireland;  
 “ which hath, or have given, any counsel, assistance, or  
 “ encouragement to the rebels there, for the maintenance  
 “ of that rebellion; as likewise an exception of William  
 “ Earl of Newcastle, and George Lord Digby.

14. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to restore such  
 “ members of either House of Parliament to their several  
 “ places of services, and employment, out of which they  
 “ have been put since the beginning of this Parliament;  
 “ that they may receive satisfaction, and reparation for  
 “ those places, and for the profits which they have lost by  
 “ such removals, upon the petition of both Houses of  
 “ Parliament: and that all others may be restored to  
 “ their offices and employments, who have been put out  
 “ of the same upon any displeasure conceived against  
 “ them, for any assistance given to both Houses of Parlia-  
 “ ment, or obeying their commands, or forbearing to leave  
 “ their attendance upon the Parliament without licence;  
 “ or for any other occasion, arising from these unhappy  
 “ differences betwixt your Majesty and both Houses of  
 “ Parliament, upon the like petition of both Houses.

“ These things being granted, and performed, as it hath  
 “ always been our hearty prayer, so shall we be enabled to

“ make it our hopeful endeavour, that your Majesty, and  
“ your people, may enjoy the blessings of peace, truth,  
“ and justice; the royalty and greatness of your throne  
“ may be supported by the loyal and bountiful affections  
“ of your people; their liberties and privileges maintained  
“ by your Majesty’s protection and justice; and this pub-  
“ lic honour, and happiness of your Majesty, and all your  
“ dominions, communicated to other Churches and States  
“ of your alliance, and derived to your royal posterity, and  
“ the future generations of this kingdom for ever.”

They who brought this petition and propositions, spake to their friends at Oxford with all freedom of the persons from whom they came; inveighed against “ their tyranny  
“ and unreasonableness,” and especially against the propositions themselves had brought; but positively declared, “ that if the King would vouchsafe so gracious an answer  
“ (which they confessed they had no reason to expect) as  
“ might engage the two Houses in a treaty, it would not  
“ be then in the power of the violent party to deny what-  
“ soever his Majesty could reasonably desire.” However (though the King expected little from those private undertakings, well knowing that they who wished best were of least power, and that the greatest among them, as soon as they were but suspected to incline to peace, immediately lost their reputation) his Majesty, within two days, graciously dismissed those messengers with this answer:

“ If his Majesty had not given up all the faculties of  
“ his soul to an earnest endeavour of peace and reconcilia-  
“ tion with his people; or if he would suffer himself, by  
“ any provocation, to be drawn to a sharpness of language,  
“ at a time when there seems somewhat like an overture  
“ of accommodation, he could not but resent the heavy  
“ charges upon him in the preamble of these propositions;  
“ would not suffer himself to be reproached, with protect-  
“ ing of delinquents, by force, from justice, (his Majesty’s  
“ desire having always been, that all men should be tried  
“ by the known law, and having been refused it,) with

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“ raising an army against his Parliament, and to be told  
“ that arms have been taken up against him for the de-  
“ fence of religion, laws, liberties, and privileges of Par-  
“ liament, and for the sitting of the Parliament in safety,  
“ with many other particulars in that preamble so often  
“ and so fully answered by his Majesty, without remem-  
“ bering the world of the time and circumstances of rais-  
“ ing those arms against him; when his Majesty was so  
“ far from being in a condition to invade other men’s  
“ rights, that he was not able to maintain and defend his  
“ own from violence; and without telling his good sub-  
“ jects, that their religion, (the true Protestant Religion,  
“ in which his Majesty was born, hath faithfully lived,  
“ and to which he will die a willing sacrifice,) their laws,  
“ liberties, privileges, and safety of Parliament, were so  
“ amply settled, and established, or offered to be so by his  
“ Majesty, before any army was raised against him, and  
“ long before any raised by him for his defence, that if  
“ nothing had been desired but that peace and protection  
“ which his subjects, and their ancestors, had in the best  
“ times enjoyed, under his Majesty, or his royal predeces-  
“ sors, this misunderstanding and distance between his  
“ Majesty and his people, and this general misery and  
“ distraction upon the face of the whole kingdom, had  
“ not been now the discourse of all Christendom.

“ But his Majesty will forbear any expressions of bit-  
“ terness, or of a sense of his own sufferings, that, if it be  
“ possible, the memory thereof may be lost to the world.  
“ And therefore, though many of the propositions, pre-  
“ sented to his Majesty by both Houses, appear to him  
“ very derogatory from, and destructive to, his just power  
“ and prerogative, and no way beneficial to his subjects,  
“ few of them being already due to them by the laws esta-  
“ blished, (and how unparliamentary it is by arms to re-  
“ quire new laws, all the world may judge,) yet (because  
“ these may be waved, or mollified, and many things, that  
“ are now dark and doubtful in them, cleared, and ex-  
“ plained upon debate) his Majesty is pleased, such is his



“ sense of the miseries this kingdom suffers by this unnatural war, and his earnest desire to remove them by an happy peace, that a speedy time and place be agreed upon, for the meeting of such persons as his Majesty and both Houses shall appoint to discuss these propositions, and such others here following as his Majesty doth propose to them.

1. “ That his Majesty’s own revenue, magazine, towns, forts, and ships, which have been taken or kept from him by force, be forthwith restored unto him.

2. “ That whatsoever hath been done, or published, contrary to the known laws of the land, or derogatory to his Majesty’s legal and known power and rights, be renounced, and recalled, that no seed may remain for the like to spring out of for the future.

3. “ That whatsoever illegal power hath been claimed and exercised by or over his subjects, as imprisoning their persons without law, stopping their *Habeas Corpus*’s, and imposing upon their estates without act of Parliament, &c. either by both, or either House, or any committee of both, or either, or by any persons appointed by any of them, be disclaimed; and all such persons so committed forthwith discharged.

4. “ That as his Majesty will readily consent (having done so heretofore) to the execution of all laws already made, and to any good acts to be made for the suppressing of Popery, and for the firm settling of the Protestant Religion now established by law; so he desires, that a good bill may be framed, for the better preserving the Book of Common Prayer from the scorn and violence of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, with such clauses for the ease of tender consciences, as his Majesty hath formerly offered.

5. “ That all such persons, as, upon the treaty, shall be excepted out of the general pardon, shall be tried *per pares*, according to the usual course, and known law of the land; and that it be left to that, either to acquit or condemn them.

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6. "And, to the intent this treaty may not suffer interruption by any intervening accidents, that a cessation of arms, and free trade for all his Majesty's subjects, may be first agreed upon.

"This offer and desire of his Majesty, he hopes, will be so cheerfully entertained, that a speedy and blessed peace may be accomplished. If it shall be rejected, or, by insisting upon unreasonable circumstances, be made impossible, (which, he hopes, God in his mercy to this nation will not suffer,) the guilt of the blood which will be shed, and the desolation which must follow, will lie upon the heads of the refusers. However, his Majesty is resolved, through what accidents soever he shall be compelled to recover his rights, and with what prosperous success soever it shall please God to bless him, that by his earnest, constant endeavours to propagate and promote the true Protestant Religion, and by his governing according to the known laws of the land, and upholding the just privileges of Parliament, according to his frequent protestations made before Almighty God, (which he will always inviolably observe,) the world shall see, that he hath undergone all these difficulties and hazards, for the defence and maintenance of those, the zealous preservation of which, his Majesty well knows, is the only foundation and means for the true happiness of him and his people."

Whilst these overtures and discourses were made of peace, the kingdom, in all parts, felt the sad effects of war; neither the King nor the Parliament being slack in pursuing the business by the sword; and the persons of honour and quality in most counties more vigorously declaring themselves than they had done. Among the rest, upon the King's retreat from Brentford, whilst he yet staid about Reading, some of the well affected gentry of Sussex, upon the confidence of their interests in those parts, offered the King to raise forces there; and presumed they should be able to seize some place of security and importance for their retreat, if the enemy should attempt

upon them; which, at that time of the year, was not conceived could be with any notable success. And being armed with such authority and commissions, as they desired, and seconded with a good number of considerable officers, their first success was answerable to their own hopes, and they possessed themselves, partly by force, and partly by stratagem, of the city of Chichester; which, being encompassed with a very good old wall, was very easy to be so fortified, that, with the winter, they might well think themselves secure against any forcible attempt could be made upon them. And no doubt they had been so, if the common people of the county (out of which the soldiers were to rise) had been so well affected as was believed.

Chichester  
possessed  
by the  
King's  
forces:

But, before they could draw in men or provisions into the city, the Earl of Essex sent Sir William Waller with horse, foot, and cannon, to infest them; who, with the assistance of the country, quickly shut them up within their walls. They within the town were easily reduced to straits they could not contend with; for, besides the enemy without, against which the walls and the weather seemed of equal power, and the small stock of provisions, which, in so short time, they were able to draw thither, they had cause to apprehend their friends would be weary before their enemies; and that the citizens would not prove a trusty part of the garrison; and their number of common men was so small, that the constant duty was performed by the officers, and gentlemen of quality, who were absolutely tired out. So that, after a week or ten days' siege, they were compelled, upon no better articles than quarter, to deliver that city, which could hardly have been taken from them; by which (with the loss of fifty or threescore gentlemen of quality, and officers of name, whose very good reputation made the loss appear a matter of absolute and unavoidable necessity) the King found that he was not to venture to plant garrisons so far from his own quarters, where he could not, in reasonable time, administer succour or supply.

But sur-  
rendered  
to Sir W.  
Waller.



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This triumph of the enemy was shortly after abated, and the loss on the King's part repaired, by the winning of Cirencester, a good town in Gloucestershire, which the rebels were fortifying, and had in it a very strong garrison; and, being upon the edge of Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire, shrewdly straitened the King's quarters. The Marquis of Hertford bringing with him, out of Wales, near two thousand foot, and one regiment of horse, intended, with the assistance of Prince Rupert, who appointed to join with him with some regiments from Oxford, to take in that town; but by the extreme foulness of the ways, the great fall of rain at that time, (being about Christmas,) and some mistake in orders between the two Generals, that design was disappointed; and the alarm gave the enemy so much the more courage and diligence to provide for an assault.

Cirencester won by the King's forces under Prince Rupert.

In the beginning of February, Prince Rupert went upon the same design with better success; and at one and the same time, storming the town in several places, their works being not yet finished, though pertinaciously enough defended, entered their line with some loss of men, and many hurt, but with a far greater of the enemy; for there were not so few as two hundred killed upon the place, and above one thousand taken prisoners, whereof Warneford and Fettyplace, (two gentlemen of good quality and fortune near that town, and very active in the service,) Mr. George, a member of Parliament who served for that borough, and two or three Scottish officers of the field, whereof Carr the governor was one, were the chief. The town yielded much plunder, from which the undistinguishing soldier could not be kept, but was equally injurious to friend and foe; so that many honest men, who were imprisoned by the rebels for not concurring with them, found themselves at liberty and undone together: amongst whom John Plot, a lawyer of very good reputation, was one; who being freed from the hard and barbarous imprisonment in which he had been kept, when he returned to his own house, found it full of soldiers, and twelve

hundred pounds in money taken from thence, which could never be recovered. The Prince left a strong garrison there, that brought almost all that whole county into contribution, and was a great enlargement to the King's quarters, which now, without interruption, extended from Oxford to Worcester; that important city, with the other of Hereford, and those counties, having, some time before, been quitted by the rebels; the Earl of Stamford, who was left in those parts by the Earl of Essex, being called from thence, by the growth of the King's party in Cornwall, to the securing the west.

We remembered before, when the Marquis of Hertford transported himself and his few foot into Wales from Minhead, that Sir Ralph Hopton, and the other gentlemen, mentioned before, with their small force, consisting of about one hundred horse, and fifty dragoons, retired into Cornwall, neglected by the Earl of Bedford, as fit and easy to be suppressed by the committees. And, in truth, the committees were entirely possessed of Devonshire, and thought themselves equally sure of Cornwall, save that the castle of Pendennis was in the custody of one they had no hope of. They were welcomed into Cornwall by Sir Bevil Greenvil, who marched with them towards the west of the county, as being best affected, where they might have leisure to refresh their wearied and almost tired horse and men, and to call the well disposed gentry together; for which they chose Truro as the fittest place, the east part of the county being possessed by Sir Alexander Carew, and Sir Richard Buller, two members of the House of Commons, and active men for the settling of the militia. There was in this county, as throughout the whole kingdom, a wonderful and superstitious reverence towards the name of a Parliament, and a prejudice to the power of the Court; yet a full submission, and love of the established Government of Church and State, especially to that part of the Church as concerned the Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, which was a most general object of veneration with the people. And the jealousy,

Sir Ralph  
Hopton  
and Sir  
Bevil  
Greenvil's  
progress  
in Cornwall  
together  
with other  
gentlemen  
there.



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and apprehension that the other party intended to alter it, was a principal advancement of the King's service. Though the major and most considerable part of the gentry, and men of estates, were heartily for the King, many of them being of the House of Commons, and so having seen and observed by what spirit the distemper was begot, and carried on; yet there were others of name, fortune, and reputation with the people, very solicitous for the Parliament, and more active than the other. There was a third sort (for a party they cannot be called) greater than either of the other, both of fortune and number, who, though they were satisfied in their consciences of the justice of the King's cause, had yet so great a dread of the power of the Parliament, that they sat still as neuters, assisting neither. So that they who did boldly appear, and declare for the King, were compelled to proceed with all wariness and circumspection; by the known and well understood rules of the law and justice; and durst not oppose the most extravagant act of the other side but with all the formality that was used in full peace: which must be an answer to all those oversights and omissions, which posterity will be apt to impute to the King, in the morning of these distractions.

The committee of the Parliament, who were entirely possessed of Devonshire, and believed themselves masters of Cornwall, drew their forces of the country to Launceston, to be sure that Sir Ralph Hopton and his adherents (whose power they thought contemptible) might not escape out of their hands. This was before the battle of Edge-hill, when the King was at lowest, and when the authority of Parliament found little opposition in any place. The quarter sessions came, where they caused a presentment to be drawn, in form of law, "against divers men unknown, who were lately come armed into that county *contra pacem*, &c." Though none were named, all understood who were meant; and therefore Sir Ralph Hopton, who very well understood those proceedings, voluntarily appeared; took notice of the presentment, and



produced the commission granted by the King, under the Great Seal of England, to the Marquis of Hertford, by which he was constituted General of the west; and a commission, from his Lordship, to Sir Ralph Hopton, of Lieutenant-General of the horse; and told them, "he was sent to assist them, in the defence of their liberties, against all illegal taxes and impositions." Hereupon, after a full and solemn debate, the jury, which consisted of gentlemen of good quality, and fortunes in the county, not only acquitted Sir Ralph Hopton, and all the other gentlemen his companions, of any disturbance of the peace; but declared, "that it was a great favour and justice of his Majesty, to send down aid to them who were already marked out to destruction; and that they thought it the duty of every good subject, as well in loyalty to the King, as in gratitude to those gentlemen, to join with them with any hazard of life and fortune."

As this full vindication was thus gotten on the King's part, so an indictment was preferred against Sir Alexander Carew, Sir Richard Buller, and the rest of the committee, "for a rout and unlawful assembly at Launceston; and for riots and misdemeanors committed against many of the King's good subjects, in taking their liberties from them;" (for they had intercepted and apprehended divers messengers, and others of the King's party, and employed by them.) This indictment and information was found by the grand jury, and thereupon, according to a statute in that case provided, an order of sessions was granted to the High Sheriff, a person well affected to the King's service, "to raise the *posse comitatus*, for the dispersing that unlawful assembly at Launceston, and for the apprehension of the rioters." This was the rise and foundation of all the great service that was after performed in Cornwall, by which the whole west was reduced to the King. For, by this means, there were immediately drawn together a body of three thousand foot, well armed; which by no other means could have been done: with which Sir Ralph Hopton, whom they all willingly obeyed,

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advanced towards Launceston, where the committee had fortified, and from thence had sent messages of great contempt upon the proceedings of the sessions; for, besides their confidence in their own Cornish strength, they had a good body of horse to second them upon all occasions, in the confines of Devon.

Sir George Chudleigh, a gentleman of good fortune and reputation in that county, and very active for the militia, being then at Tavistock, with five or six full troops of horse, raised in that county to go to their army, but detained till Cornwall could be settled; upon the news of Sir Ralph Hopton's advancing, these drew to Litton, a village in Devonshire, but within three miles of Launceston. Sir Ralph Hopton marched within two miles of the town, where he refreshed his men, intending, the next morning early, to fall on the town: but Sir Richard Bul-ler, and his confederates, not daring to abide the storm, in great disorder quitted the town that night, and drew into Devonshire, and so towards Plymouth; so that in the morning Sir Ralph Hopton found the gates of Launceston open, and entered without resistance. As the submission to, and reverence of, the known practised laws had, by the Sheriff's authority, raised this army within very few days, so the extreme superstition to it as soon dissolved it. For when all the persons of honour and quality, who well knew the desperate formed designs of the other party, earnestly pressed the pursuing the disheartened and dismayed rebels into Devon, by which they should quickly increase their numbers, by joining with the well affected in that large and populous county, who were yet awed into silence; it was powerfully objected, "that the Sheriff, by "whose legal authority only that force was drawn toge- "ther, might not lawfully march out of his own county; "and that it was the principal privilege of the Trained "Bands, that they might not be compelled to march far- "ther than the limits of their Sheriff."

How grievous and inconvenient soever this doctrine was discerned to be, yet no man durst presume so far

upon the temper of that people, as to object policy or necessity to the notions of law. And therefore, concealing, as much as was possible, the true reasons, they pretended their not following the enemy proceeded from apprehension of their strength, by their joining with Sir George Chudleigh, and of want of ammunition, (either of which were not unreasonable,) and so marched to Saltash, a town in Cornwall upon an arm of the sea; which only divided it from Plymouth and Devon, where was a garrison of two hundred Scots; who, upon the approach of Sir Ralph Hopton, as kindly quit Saltash, as the others had Launceston before. So that being now entirely masters of Cornwall, they fairly dismissed those who could not be kept long together, and retired with their own handful of horse and dragoons, till a new provocation from the enemy should put fresh vigour into that county.

In the mean time, considering the casualty of those Trained Bands, and that strength, which on a sudden could be raised by the *posse comitatus*, which, though it made a gallant shew in Cornwall, they easily saw would be of no use towards the quenching the general rebellion over England, they entered upon thoughts of raising voluntary regiments of foot; which could be only done by the gentlemen of that country among their neighbours, and tenants, who depended on them. Sir Bevil Greenvil, (the generally most beloved man of that country,) Sir Nicholas Slanning, the gallant Governor of Pendennis Castle, John Arundel, and John Trevannion, two young men of excellent hopes, and heirs to great fortunes in that country, (all four of them members of the House of Commons, and so better informed, and acquainted with the desperate humours of the adverse party,) undertook the raising regiments of volunteers; many young gentlemen, of the most considerable families of the county, assisting them as inferior officers. So that, within a shorter time than could be expected, from one single county, there was a body of foot, of near fifteen hundred, raised, armed, and well disciplined for action. But there was then an acci-



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dent, that might have discomposed a people which had not been very well prepared to perform their duties.

The Lord Mohun (who had departed from York from the King with all professions of zeal and activity in his service) had, from the time of the first motion in Cornwall, forborne to join himself to the King's party; staying at home at his own house, and imparting himself equally to all men of several constitutions, as if he had not been yet sufficiently informed which party to adhere to. But after all the adverse party was driven out of Cornwall, and the fame of the King's marching in the head of an army, and having fought the battle at Edge-hill, (the effect whereof was variously reported,) without acquainting any body with his intention, he took a journey towards London, at the time when the King marched that way, and presented himself to his Majesty at Brentford, as sent from Sir Ralph Hopton and the rest of those gentlemen engaged in Cornwall; though many men believed that his purpose was, in truth for London, if he had not then found the King's condition better than it was generally believed. Upon his Lordship's information of the state of those western parts, and upon a supposition that he spake the sense and desires of those from whom he pretended to come, the King granted a commission jointly to his Lordship, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Berkley, and Colonel Ashburnham, to govern those forces, in the absence of the Lord Marquis of Hertford; with which he returned into Cornwall, and immediately raised a regiment of foot; behaving himself as actively, and being every way as forward in the advancing the great business, as any man; so that men imputed his former reservedness, only to his not being satisfied in a condition of command.

On the other side, they who were concerned in that alteration were not at all well contented. For before, these gentlemen of Cornwall, upon whose interest and activity the work depended, had, with great readiness, complied with the other, both out of great value of their persons, with whom they had good familiarity and friendship, and

in respect of their authority and commissions, with which they came qualified in that county: for, as was remembered before, Sir Ralph Hopton had a commission from the Marquis of Hertford, to be Lieutenant General of the horse; Sir John Berkley, to be Commissary General; and Colonel Ashburnham, to be Major General of the foot; so that there was no dispute of commands. But now, the Lord Mohun's coming into an equal command with any, and superior to those who thought their reputation and interest to be superior to his, (for he had not the good fortune to be very gracious in his own country,) and this by his own solicitation and interposition, gave them some indignation. However their public-heartedness, and joint concernment in the good cause, so totally suppressed all animosities, and indeed indispositions, that a greater concurrence could not be desired in whatsoever could contribute to the work in hand; so that they not only preserved Cornwall entire, but made bold incursions into Devon, even to the walls of Plymouth and Exeter; though the season of the year, being the deep winter, and the want of ammunition, soon forced them to retire into Cornwall.

The reputation of their being masters of that one county, and the apprehension of what they might be shortly able to do, made the Parliament think it time to take more care for their suppression. And therefore they sent their whole forces out of Dorset and Somerset, to join with those of Devon, to make an entire conquest of Cornwall. With these, Ruthen (a Scotchman, the Governor of Plymouth) advanced into Cornwall, by a bridge over the Tamar, six miles above Saltash, (where he had before endeavoured to force his passage by water, but had been beaten off with loss,) having mastered the guard there; the Earl of Stamford following him, two or three days' march behind, with a new supply of horse and foot; albeit those the Scotchman had with him were much superior to those of the King's: which, upon this sudden invasion, were forced to retire with their whole strength to Bodmin; whither, foreseeing this storm some few days be-

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fore it came, they had again summoned the *posse comitatus*, which appeared in considerable numbers.

They had scarce refreshed themselves there, and put their men in order, when Ruthen, with his horse, foot, and cannon, was advanced to Liskard, within seven miles of Bodmin; from whence they moved towards the enemy with all alacrity, knowing how necessary it was for them to fight before the Earl of Stamford, who was at that time come to Launceston with a strong party of horse and foot, should be able to join with the rebels. And as this consideration was of importance to hasten the one, so it prevailed with the other party too; for Ruthen, apprehending that his victory, of which he made no question, would be clouded by the presence of the Earl of Stamford, who had the chief command, resolved to dispatch the business before he came. And so Sir Ralph Hopton (to whom the other Commissioners, who had a joint authority with him, willingly devolved the sole command for that day, lest confusion of orders might beget distraction) was no sooner known to be drawing towards him, (to whom a present battle was so necessary, that it was resolved, upon all disadvantages, to have fallen on the enemy in the town rather than not fight,) but Ruthen likewise drew out his forces, and, choosing his ground upon the east side of Bradock-Down near Liskard, stood in battalia to expect the enemy: Sir Ralph Hopton, having likewise put his men in order, caused public prayers to be said, in the head of every squadron, (which the rebels observing, told their fellows, "they were at mass," to stir up their courages in the cause of religion,) and having winged his foot with his horse and dragoons, he advanced within musket-shot of the enemy, who stood without any motion. Then perceiving that their cannon were not yet come up from the town, he caused two small iron minion drakes (all the artillery they had) to be drawn, under the cover of little parties of horse, to a convenient distance from the body of the enemies; and after two shots of those drakes, (which being not discerned, and doing some execution,



struck a greater terror into them,) advanced with his body upon them; and, with very easy contention, beat them off their ground; they having lined the hedges behind them with their reserve, by which they thought securely to make their retreat into the town. But the Cornish so briskly bestirred themselves, and pressed them so hard on every side, being indeed excellent at hedge-work, and that kind of fight, that they quickly won that ground too, and put their whole army in a rout, and had the full execution of them as far as they would pursue. But, after that advantage, they were always more sparing than is usually known in civil wars, shedding very little blood after resistance was given over, and having a very noble and Christian sense of the lives of their brethren: insomuch as the common men, when they have been pressed by some fiercer officer, to follow the execution, have answered, "they could not find in their hearts to hurt men who had no thing in their hands."

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Sir Ralph  
Hopton  
beats the  
Parlia-  
ment's  
forces at  
Braddock-  
Down un-  
der Ruthen.

In this battle, without the loss of an officer of name, and very few common men, they took twelve hundred and fifty prisoners, most of their colours, all their cannon, being four brass guns, (whereof two were twelve pounders,) and one iron saker, all their ammunition, and most of their arms. Ruthen himself, and those who could keep pace with him, fled to Saltash; which he thought to fortify, and by the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and assistance of the shipping, to defend; and thereby still to have an influence upon a good part of Cornwall. The Earl of Stamford, receiving quick advertisement of this defeat, in great disorder retired to Tavistock, to preserve the utmost parts of Devon from incursions. Hereupon, after a solemn thanksgiving to God for this great victory, (which was about the middle of January,) and a little refreshing their men at Liskard, the King's forces divided themselves; Sir John Berkley, and Colonel Ashburnham, with Sir Bevil Greenvil, Sir Nicholas Slanning's and Colonel Trevanion's voluntary regiments, and such a party of horse and dragoons as could be spared, advanced to Tavistock to

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Saltash  
taken by  
the King's  
forces.

visit the Earl of Stamford ; the Lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, with the Lord Mohun's and Colonel Godolphin's voluntary regiments, and some of the Trained Bands, marched towards Saltash, to dislodge Ruthen ; who within three days (for there was no more between his defeat at Bradock-Down, and his visitation at Saltash) had cast up such works, and planted such store of cannon upon the narrow avenues, that he thought himself able, with the help of a goodly ship of four hundred tons, in which were sixteen pieces of cannon, which he had brought up the river to the very side of the town, to defend that place against any strength was like to be brought against him. But he quickly found that the same spirit possessed his enemies that drove him from Liskard, and the same that possessed his own men when they fled from thence ; for as soon as the Cornish came up, they fell upon his works, and in a short time beat him out of them ; and then out of the town, with a good execution upon them ; many being killed in the fight, and more drowned : Ruthen himself hardly getting into a boat, by which he got into Plymouth, leaving all his ordnance behind him, which, together with the ship, and sevenscore prisoners, and all their colours, which had been saved at Liskard, were taken by the conquerors, who were now again entire masters of Cornwall.

The Earl of Stamford had not the same patience to abide the other party at Tavistock, but, before their approach, quitted the town ; some of his forces making haste into Plymouth, and the rest retiring into Exeter. And so, though the old superstition, of not going out of the county, again disbanded the Trained Bands, the Cornish, with all their voluntary forces, drew into Devon, and fixed quarters within less than a mile of Plymouth, and kept guards even within musket-shot of their line. Sir John Berkley in the mean time with a good party volant, of horse and dragoons, with great diligence and gallantry, visiting all places in Devon, where their people were gathered together, and dissolving them, took many prisoners

of name; and so kept Chudleigh, the Major General of the Parliament forces, from raising a body there; which he industriously intended.

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In those necessary and brisk expeditions in falling upon Chagford (a little town in the south of Devon) before day, the King lost Sidney Godolphin, a young gentleman of incomparable parts; who, being of a constitution and education more delicate, and unacquainted with contentions, upon his observation of the wickedness of those men in the House of Commons, of which he was a member, out of the pure indignation of his soul against them, and conscience to his country, had, with the first, engaged himself with that party in the west: and though he thought not fit to take command in a profession he had not willingly chosen, yet as his advice was of great authority with all the commanders, being always one in the council of war, and whose notable abilities they had still use of in their civil transactions, so he exposed his person to all action, travel, and hazard; and by too forward engaging himself in this last, received a mortal shot by a musket, a little above the knee, of which he died in the instant; leaving the misfortune of his death upon a place, which could never otherwise have had a mention to the world.

Mr. Sidney  
Godolphin  
slain.

After this, which happened about the end of January, in respect of the season of the year, and the want of ammunition, finding that they could make no impression upon the strong holds of the enemy, they retired, with their whole forces, to Tavistock; where they refreshed and rested themselves many days, being willing to ease their fast friends of Cornwall, as much as was possible, from the trouble and charge of their little army. The difficulties they were entangled with were very prodigious; of which one was, that the other parts of the west were so entirely possessed by the enemy, that they could have no correspondence, or receive any intelligence from the King, not one messenger in ten arriving at his journey's end. Then though the justice and piety of the

The King's  
Cornish  
forces come  
to Tavi-  
stock.



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cause added much power to particular persons in raising an army; yet the money, that was raised for the maintenance and payment of that army, was entirely upon the reputation, credit, and interest of particular men: and how long that spring would supply those streams, the most sanguine among them could not presume; but the want of ammunition troubled them most of all: they had yet had none but what had been taken out of the low store of Pendennis Castle, and what they had won from the enemy; the first wanted a supply for its own provision, but which way to procure that supply they could not imagine; and the fear and apprehension of such straits, against which no probable hopes occur, is more grievous and insupportable than any present want.

Captain  
Carteret  
supplies  
them with  
ammuni-  
tion.

In this instant, as if sent by Providence, they met with an opportunity they had scarce courage to hope for: Captain Carteret, the Controller of the King's navy, having in the beginning of the troubles, after he had refused to have command in their fleets, without noise withdrawn himself and his family out of England to Jersey, and being there impatient of being quiet, whilst his Master was in the field, transported himself into Cornwall with a purpose to raise a troop of horse, and to engage in that service: when he came thither, he was unanimously importuned by the commanders, after they had acquainted him with their hopeless and desperate want of powder, to assist them in that manner, that the many good ports in their power might be made of some use to them in the supply of powder: whereupon he shortly returned into France; and first upon his own credit, and then upon return of such commodities out of Cornwall as they could well spare, he supplied them with such great proportions of all kinds of ammunitions, that they never found want after.

In the mean time, when they were clouded with that want at Tavistock, some gentlemen of Cornwall who adhered to the rebels, and were thereby dispossessed of their county, made some overtures, "that a treaty might be entered into, whereby the peace of those two counties of

“ Cornwall and Devon might be settled, and the war be removed into other parts.” They who had most experience of the humours and dispositions of the factious party, easily concluded the little hope of peace by such a treaty; yet the proposition was so specious and popular, that there was no rejecting it; and therefore they agreed to a meeting between persons chosen of either side; and the Earl of Stamford himself seemed so ingenuous, that, at the very first meeting, to shew their clear intentions, it was mutually agreed, that every person employed and trusted in the treaty should first make a protestation in these words: “ I do solemnly vow and protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that I do not only come a commissioner to this treaty, with an hearty and fervent desire of concluding an honourable and firm peace between the two counties of Cornwall and Devon; but also will, to the utmost of my power, prosecute and really endeavour to accomplish and effect the same, by all lawful ways and means I possibly can; first by maintaining the Protestant Religion established by law in the Church of England, the just rights and prerogative of our sovereign Lord the King, the just privileges and freedom of Parliament; together with the just rights and liberty of the subjects; and that I am without any intention (by fomenting this unnatural war) to gain, or hope to advantage myself with the real or personal estate of any person whatsoever, or obtaining any office, command, title of honour, benefit, or reward, either from the King’s Majesty, or either or both Houses of Parliament now assembled. And this I take, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I shall answer the same at his tribunal, according to the literal sense and meaning of the foregoing words, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or other evasion whatsoever. So help me God.”

A treaty between the two parties in Devon and Cornwall:

This protestation being first taken by both.

The taking this protestation with that solemnity, and the blessed Sacrament thereupon, made even those, who before expected little fruit from the treaty, believe, that

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A truce  
and cessa-  
tion there-  
upon.

men, being so engaged, would not be liable to those passions and affections, which usually transported that party; and so to hope that some good might proceed from it: and therefore the King's party were easily induced to retire with their forces into Cornwall; and thereupon a truce and cessation was agreed upon, that a treaty might proceed without interruption. In which treaty, the same continuing beyond the expiration of the present year 1642, we shall for the present leave them; that we may take a short survey of the northern parts, and remember by what degrees they came to feel the calamities, and to bear their burden in the civil war.

An account  
of the  
northern  
parts dispo-  
sition at  
that time.

When the King left Yorkshire, he appointed Sir Thomas Glemham, at the desire of the gentlemen of that county, as was before remembered, to stay in York, to order and command those forces, which they should find necessary to raise, to defend themselves from the excursions of Hull, whence young Hotham infested the country more than his father; who was willing enough to sit still in his garrison, where he believed he could make advantage upon the success of either party: and they who were most inclined to the Parliament (whereof the Lord Fairfax and his son were the chief; from whom the King was so far from expecting any notable mischief, that he left them all at their own houses, when he went from thence; and might, if he had thought it requisite, have carried them away prisoners with him) were rather desirous to look on, than engage themselves in the war; presuming that one battle would determine all disputes, and the party which prevailed in that would find a general submission throughout the kingdom. And truly, I believe, there was scarce one conclusion, that hath contributed more to the continuance and length of the war, than that generally received opinion in the beginning, that it would be quickly at an end. Hereupon, there being but one visible difference like to beget distractions in the country, which was about the militia, the King appointing it to be governed and disposed by the commission of array, and the Parliament by



their ordinance; for the composing whereof, the gentlemen of the several opinions proposed, between themselves, "that neither the one nor the other should be meddled with; but that all should be contented to sit still, without engagement to either party." This seemed very reasonable to the Parliament party there, who were rather carried away with an implicit reverence to the very name of a Parliament (the fatal disease of the whole kingdom at that time) than really transported with the passion and design of the furious part of it; and who plainly discerned, that by much the greatest part of the persons of honour, quality, and interest in the county would cordially oppose their proceedings: for, besides the Lord Fairfax, there were in truth few of good reputation and fortune, who run that way. On the other hand, the King's party thought their work done by it; for they having already sent two good regiments of foot, the one under Colonel John Bellasis, younger son to the Lord Viscount Falconbridge, and the other under Sir William Pennyman; and two regiments of dragoons, the one under Colonel Duncomb; the other, Colonel Gowre; besides three or four good troops of horse; and the King being at that distance, that they could not send him farther supply; they thought they had nothing to do, but to keep the country in such a peace, that it might do the King no harm by sending men to the Earl of Essex, or adhering to the garrison of Hull; and concluding, as the other did, that the decision between the King and Parliament would be at the first encounter. Upon these deliberations, articles were solemnly drawn up, consented to and subscribed by the Lord Fairfax, and Harry Bellasis, the heir apparent of the Lord Falconbridge, who were the two knights who served in Parliament for Yorkshire, nearly allied together, and of great kindness till their several opinions and affections had divided them in this quarrel: the former adhering to the Parliament; the latter, with great courage and sobriety, to the King.

Articles of  
neutrality  
agreed in  
Yorkshire  
between  
both parties:

With them, the principal persons of either party sub-

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scribed the articles, and gave their mutual faiths to each other, that they would observe them; being indeed no other than an engagement of neutrality, and to assist neither party. Of all the gentry of Yorkshire, there were only two Dissenters on the Parliament side; young Hotham, and Sir Edward Rhodes; who, though of the better quality, was not so much known, or considered, as the other. But they quickly found seconds enough; for the Parliament no sooner was informed of this transaction, than they expressed their detestation of it, and gently in words (though scornfully in matter) reprehending the Lord Fairfax, and his party, “for being cozened and over-reached by the other;” they declared, “that none of the parties to that agreement had any authority to bind that country to any such neutrality, as was mentioned in that agreement; it being a peculiar and proper power and privilege of Parliament, where the whole body of the kingdom is represented, to bind all, or any part thereof: that it was very prejudicial and dangerous to the whole kingdom, that one county should withdraw themselves from the assistance of the rest, to which they were bound by law, and by several orders and declarations of Parliament: that it was very derogatory to the power and authority of Parliament, that any private men should take upon them to suspend the execution of the ordinance of the militia, declared by both Houses to be according to law, and very necessary, at that time, for the preservation of the peace and safety of the kingdom. And therefore, they said, they thought themselves bound in conscience, to hinder all farther proceedings upon that agreement; and ordered, that no such neutrality should be observed in that county. For if they should suffer particular counties to divide themselves from the rest of the kingdom, it would be a means of bringing all to ruin and destruction.” And therefore they farther declared, that “neither the Lord Fairfax, nor the gentlemen of Yorkshire, who were parties to those articles, nor any other inhabitants of that county, were bound by any

But dis-  
owned by  
the Parlia-  
ment: upon  
which they  
entered  
into acts of  
hostility  
there.

“such agreement; but required them to pursue their former resolutions, of maintaining and assisting the Parliament, in defence of the common cause, according to the general protestation wherein they were bound with the rest of the kingdom, and against the particular protestation by themselves lately made; and according to such orders and commissions as they should receive from both Houses of Parliament, from the committee of the Lords and Commons appointed for the safety of the kingdom, or from the Earl of Essex, Lord General.” And, lest this their declaration should not be of power enough to dissolve this agreement, they published their resolution, and directed that “Mr. Hotham and Sir Edward Rhodes should proceed upon their former instructions; and that they should have power to seize and apprehend all Delinquents that were so voted by the Parliament, and all such others, as Delinquents, as had, or did shew themselves opposite and disobedient to the orders and proceedings of Parliament.”

Upon this declaration, and vote, not only young Hotham fell to the practice of acts of hostility, with all licence, out of the garrison at Hull; but the Lord Fairfax himself, and all the gentlemen of that party, who had, with that protestation, signed the articles, instead of resenting the reproach to themselves, tamely submitted to those unreasonable conclusions; and, contrary to their solemn promise and engagement, prepared themselves to bear a part in the war, and made all haste to levy men.

Upon so great a disadvantage were the King's party in all places; who were so precise in promises, and their personal undertakings, that they believed they could not serve the King, and his cause, if their reputation and integrity were once blemished, though some particular contract proved to his disadvantage: whilst the others exposed their honours for any present temporary conveniences, and thought themselves absolved by any new resolution of the Houses, to whose custody their honour and ingenuity was committed. The present disadvantage of



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this rupture was greater to the King's party there, than to the other. For (besides that many, who concurred with them very frankly and solicitously in the neutrality, separated themselves from them now there was a necessity of action) they had neither money to raise men, nor arms to arm them; so that the strength consisted in the gentlemen themselves, and their retinue; who, by the good affections of the inhabitants of York, were strong enough to secure one another within the walls of that city. Then the Earl of Cumberland, in whom the chief power of command was to raise men and money in a case of necessity, though he was a person of entire devotion to the King, was in his nature unactive, and utterly unexperienced in affairs and exigents of that nature.

On the other hand, the opposite party was strengthened and enabled by the strong garrison of Hull, whence young Hotham, on all occasions, was ready to second them with his troop of horse, and to take up any well affected person who was suspected to be loyal; which drove all resolved men from their houses into York, where they only could be safe. The other could have what men more they desired from London, and both ready money from thence to Hull, and ordinances to raise what they would in the county to pay them. Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford, three very populous and rich towns, (which depending wholly upon clothiers too much maligned the gentry,) were wholly at their disposition. Their neighbours in Lincolnshire were in a body to second them, and Sir John Gell was on the same behalf possessed of Derby, and all that county, there being none that had the hardiness yet, to declare there for the King. So that, if Sir John Hotham's wariness had not kept him from being active, and his pride, and contempt of the Lord Fairfax, upon whom the country chiefly depended, hindered him from seconding and assisting his Lordship; or if any man had had the entire command of those parts and forces, to have united them, the Parliament had, with very little resistance, been absolute masters of all Yorkshire; and, as easily, of the

city itself. But their want of union in particulars, though they agreed too well in the main, gave the King's party time to breathe, and to look about for their preservation. Thereupon they sent to the Earl of Newcastle for assistance; offering, "if he would march into Yorkshire, they would join with him, and be entirely commanded by him;" the Earl of Cumberland willingly offering to wave any title to command.

It was before remembered, that, when the King left York, he had sent the Earl of Newcastle, as a person of great honour and interest in those parts, to be Governor of Newcastle; and so to secure that port, that the Parliament might neither seize it, nor the Scots be bribed by it to come to the assistance of their brethren. Which commission from the King his Lordship no sooner executed, without the least hostility, (for that town received him with all possible acknowledgments of the King's goodness in sending him,) but he was impeached by the House of Commons of high treason. From his going thither, (which was in August,) till toward the end of November, the Earl spent his time in disposing the people of Northumberland, and the bishoprick of Durham, to the King's service, and to a right understanding of the matters in difference; in the fortifying Newcastle, and the river; whereby that harbour might only be in the King's obedience; in raising a garrison for that place, and providing arms for a farther advance of the King's service. Then he provided for the assistance of his friends in Yorkshire, whose condition grew every day more desperate. For the Parliament, finding the inconveniencies of having no commander in chief in those parts, had caused their Generalissimo, the Earl of Essex, to send a commission to the Lord Fairfax, "to command all the forces of Yorkshire, and the adjacent counties, in chief;" by which, in less time than could be reasonably imagined, he was able to draw together an army of five or six thousand horse and foot; so that York must presently have been swallowed up.

The Lord Fairfax made General of Yorkshire for the Parliament.

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The Earl of  
Newcastle  
comes from  
Newcastle  
into York.

But, in the beginning of December, the Earl of Newcastle marched to their relief; and having left a good garrison in Newcastle, and fixed such small garrisons in his way, as might secure his communication with that port, to which all his ammunition was to be brought; with a body of near three thousand foot, and six or seven hundred horse and dragoons, without any encounter with the enemy, (though they had threatened loud,) he entered York; having lessened the enemy's strength, without blood, both in territories and men. For, as soon as he entered Yorkshire, two regiments raised in Richmondshire and Cleveland dissolved of themselves; having it yet in their choice to dwell at home, or to leave their houses to new comers. The Earl being now master of the north as far as York, thought rather of forming an army, and providing money to pay it, than of making any farther progress in the winter; and therefore suffered the Lord Fairfax to enjoy the southern part of that large rich county, till the spring, and the improvement of his condition, should enable him to advance: yet few days passed without blows, in which the Parliament forces had usually the worst.

Shortly after the Earl's coming to York, General King repaired to him, whom he made Lieutenant General of his army; who, notwithstanding the unavoidable prejudice, in that conjuncture, of his being a Scotchman, ordered the foot with great wisdom and dexterity: the charge of the horse being at the same time committed to General Goring; who, by the Queen's favour, notwithstanding all former failings, was recommended to that province, and quickly applied himself to action: so that, though the Lord Fairfax kept Selby and Cawood, both within a small distance from York, the Earl was absolute master of the field. And now the north yielded secure footing for those who had been unreasonably persecuted for their obedience to the King, the Queen herself thought of returning into England.

Her Majesty had, from her first going into Holland, dexterously endeavoured to advance the King's interest,



and sent very great quantities of arms and ammunition to Newcastle, (though, by the vigilance of the Parliament agents in those parts, and the power of their ships, too much of it was intercepted,) with some considerable sums of money, and good store of officers; who, by the connivance of the Prince of Orange, came over to serve their own King. And from this extraordinary care of her Majesty's, and her known grace and favour to the person of the Earl of Newcastle, who she well knew had contracted many enemies by the eminency of his devotion to the King, that army was by the Parliament styled the *Queen's army*, and the *Catholic army*, thereby to expose her Majesty the more to the rude malice of the people, and the army to their prejudice; persuading them "that it consisted of none but professed Papists, who intended nothing but the extirpation of the Protestants, and establishing their own profession."

About the middle of February, the Queen took shipping from Holland, in a States man of war, assigned by the Prince of Orange with others for her convoy, and arrived safely in Burlington Bay, upon the coast of Yorkshire; where she had the patience to stay on shipboard at anchor, the space of two days, till the Earl had notice, "to draw such a part of his forces that way, as might secure her landing, and wait on her to York;" which he no sooner did, (and he did it with all imaginable expedition,) but her Majesty came on shore; and, for the present, was pleased to refresh herself in a convenient house upon the very key, where all accommodations were made for her reception; there being many things of moment to be unshipped before she could reasonably enter upon her journey towards York.

The Queen  
arrives at  
Burlington  
from Hol-  
land.

The second day after the Queen's landing, Batten, Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Warwick, (who had waited to intercept her passage,) with four of the King's ships, arrived in Burlington Road; and, finding that her Majesty was landed, and that she lodged upon the key, bringing his ships to the nearest distance, being very early in the morn-

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ing, discharged above a hundred cannon (whereof many were laden with cross-bar-shot) for the space of two hours upon the house where her Majesty was lodged: whereupon she was forced out of her bed, some of the shot making way through her own chamber; and to shelter herself under a bank in the open fields; which barbarous and treasonable act was so much the more odious, in that the Parliament never so far took notice of it, as to disavow it. So that many believed it was very pleasing to, if not commanded by them; and that, if the ships had encountered at sea, they would have left no hazard unrun to have destroyed her Majesty.

The Queen shortly after removed to York, and the King's affairs prospered to that degree, that, as the Earl of Newcastle had before fixed a garrison at Newark in Nottinghamshire, which kept the forces of Lincoln from joining entirely with the Lord Fairfax, and had with great courage beaten off a formed body of the rebels who attempted it; so he now sent Charles Cavendish, the younger brother of the Earl of Devonshire, with a party volant of horse and dragoons, into Lincolnshire; where, about the middle of March, he assaulted Grantham, a new garrison of the rebels; which he took, and in it above three hundred prisoners, with all their officers, arms, and ammunition: and, about the same time, Sir Hugh Cholmondley, who had done very notable service to the Parliament, and oftener defeated the Earl of Newcastle's troops (though he had been in truth hurried to that party, rather by the engagement of Sir John Hotham, with whom he had long friendship, than by his own inclination) than any officer of those parts, very frankly revolted to his allegiance; and waiting on her Majesty for her assurance of his pardon, delivered up the castle of Scarborough (a place of importance) to the King; the command and government whereof was again by the Earl committed to him; which he discharged with courage and singular fidelity. By this means, and those successes, the Lord Fairfax quitted Selby, Cawood, and Tadcaster, and retired to

The Earl of  
Newcastle  
fixed a gar-  
rison at  
Newark.

Sir Hugh  
Cholmond-  
ley deliver-  
ed up Scar-  
borough  
castle to  
the Queen.

Pomfret and Halifax; whereby the Earl was, upon the matter, possessed of that whole large county, and so able to help his neighbours. This was the state of that part of the north which was under the Earl of Newcastle's commission: for Lancashire, Cheshire, and Shropshire, were in a worse condition; of which, and the neighbour counties, it will be necessary in the next place to say somewhat; and of those first which lie farthest off.

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The condition at that time of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Shropshire.

We have said before, that when the King left Shrewsbury, and marched to meet the Earl of Essex, (which he did at Edge-hill,) all his designs being to come to a battle; and the opinion of most, that a battle would determine all; he was to apply all the strength and forces he could possibly raise, to the increasing his army; so that he left no garrison behind him, but relied upon the interest and authority of the Lord Strange, (who was, by the death of his father, now Earl of Derby,) to suppress all commotions and insurrections, which might happen in the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire; which his Lordship was confident he should be able to do, and was then generally believed to have a greater influence upon those two counties, and a more absolute command over the people in them, than any subject in England had, in any other quarter of the kingdom. The town of Shrewsbury, and that good county, where the King had been so prosperous, (and by which the people were more engaged,) he intrusted only to that good spirit that then possessed it, and to the legal authority of the Sheriffs and Justices of the peace. And it fared in those counties as in all other parts of the kingdom, that the number of those who desired to sit still was greater than of those who desired to engage in either party; so that they were generally inclined to articles of neutrality. And in Cheshire, the active people of both sides came to those capitulations, with as much solemnity as had been in Yorkshire, and by the same declaration of the Parliament (so much the same, that there was no other difference but alterations of names and places) were absolved from the observation of them. And then Sir William



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Bruerton, a gentleman of a competent fortune in that county, and Knight for that shire in Parliament, but most notorious for a known aversion to the government of the Church, bringing with him from London a troop of horse, and a regiment of dragoons, marched thither to protect those who were of that party, and, under such a shelter, to encourage them to appear.

The city of Chester was firm to the King, by the virtue of the inhabitants, and interest of the Bishop, and cathedral men; but especially by the reputation and dexterity of Mr. O. Bridgman, son to the Bishop, and a lawyer of very good estimation; who not only informed them of their duty, and encouraged them in it, but upon his credit and estate, both which were very good, supplied them with whatsoever was necessary for their defence; so that they were not put to be honest and expensive together. But as they had no garrison of soldiers, so they had no officer of skill and experience to manage and direct that courage which, at least, was willing to defend their own walls; which they were now like to be put to. Therefore the King sent thither Sir Nicholas Byron, a soldier of very good command, with a commission to be "Colonel General of Cheshire and Shropshire; and to be Governor of Chester;" who being a person of great affability and dexterity, as well as martial knowledge, gave great life to the designs of the well affected there; and, with the encouragement of some gentlemen of North Wales, in a short time raised such a power of horse and foot, as made often skirmishes with the enemy; sometimes with notable advantage, never with any signal loss. Sir William Bruerton fortified Nantwich, as the King's party did Chester; from which garrisons, containing both their forces, they contended which should most prevail upon, that is most subdued, the affections of the county, to declare for and join with them. But the fair expectation of Cheshire was clouded by the storms that arose in Lancashire, where men of no name, and contemned interest, by the mere credit of the Parliament, and frenzy of the people, on a

sudden snatched that large and populous county from their devotion to the Earl of Derby. BOOK  
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The town of Manchester had, from the beginning, (out of that factious humour which possessed most corporations, and the pride of their wealth,) opposed the King, and declared magisterially for the Parliament. But as a great part of the county consisted of Papists, of whose insurrections they had made such use in the beginning of the Parliament, when they had a mind to alarm the people with dangers; so it was confidently believed, that there was not one man of ten throughout that county, who meant not to be dutiful and loyal to the King: yet the restless spirit of the seditious party was so sedulous and industrious, and every one of the party so ready to be engaged, and punctually to obey; and, on the other hand, the Earl of Derby so unactive, and so uncomplying with those who were fuller of alacrity, and would have proceeded more vigorously against the enemy; or, through want of experience, so irresolute, that, instead of countenancing the King's party in Cheshire, which was expected from him, the Earl, insensibly, found Lancashire to be almost possessed against him; the rebels every day gaining and fortifying all the strong towns, and surprising his troops, without any considerable encounter. And yet, so hard was the King's condition, that, though he knew those great misfortunes proceeded from want of conduct, and of a vigorous and expert commander, he thought it not safe to make any alteration, lest that Earl might be provoked, out of disdain to have any superior in Lancashire, to manifest how much he could do against him, though it appeared he could do little for him. Yet it was easily discerned, that his ancient power there depended more upon the fear than love of the people; there being very many, now in this time of liberty, engaging themselves against the King, that they might not be subject to that Lord's commands.

However, the King committing Lancashire still to his Lordship's care, (whose fidelity, without doubt, was blame-

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less, whatever his skill was,) he sent the Lord Capel to Shrewsbury, with a commission of " Lieutenant General " of Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales;" who, being a person of great fortune and honour, quickly engaged those parts in a cheerful association; and raised a body of horse and foot, that gave Sir William Bruerton so much trouble at Nantwich, that the garrison at Chester had breath to enlarge its quarters, and to provide for its own security; though the enemy omitted no opportunity of infesting them, and gave them as much trouble as was possible. It cannot be denied but Sir William Bruerton, and the other gentlemen of that party, albeit their education and course of life had been very different from their present engagements, and for the most part were very unpromising in matters of war, and therefore were too much contemned enemies, executed their commands with notable sobriety, and indefatigable industry, (virtues not so well practised in the King's quarters,) insomuch as the best soldiers who encountered with them had no cause to despise them. It is true, they had no other straits and difficulties to struggle with, than what proceeded from their enemy; being always supplied with money to pay their soldiers, and with arms to arm them; whereby it was in their power not to grieve and oppress the people. And thereby (besides the spirit of faction that much governed) the common people were more devoted to them, and gave them all intelligence of what might concern them; whereas they who were intrusted to govern the King's affairs had intolerable difficulties to pass through; being to raise men without money, to arm them without weapons, (that is, they had no magazine to supply them,) and to keep them together without pay; so that the country was both to feed and clothe the soldiers; which quickly inclined them to remember only the burden, and forget the quarrel.

The difference in the temper of the common people of both sides was so great, that they who inclined to the Parliament left nothing unperformed that might advance the cause; and were incredibly vigilant and industrious



to cross and hinder whatsoever might promote the King's: BOOK  
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 whereas they who wished well to him thought they had  
 performed their duty in doing so, and that they had done  
 enough for him, in that they had done nothing against  
 him.

Though, by this sending the Lord Capel, those counties  
 of Shropshire and Cheshire, with the assistance of North  
 Wales, kept those parts so near their obedience, that their  
 disobedience was not yet pernicious to the King, in send-  
 ing assistance to the Earl of Essex against his Majesty, or  
 to the Lord Fairfax against the Earl of Newcastle; yet The condi-  
 tion at that  
 time of the  
 counties  
 between  
 Oxford and  
 York.  
 those counties which lay in the line between Oxford and  
 York were, upon the matter, entirely possessed by the  
 enemy. The garrison of Northampton kept that whole  
 county in obedience to the Parliament, save that from  
 Banbury the adjacent parts were forced to bring some  
 contribution thither. In Warwickshire the King had no  
 footing; the castle of Warwick, the city of Coventry, and  
 his own castle of Killingworth, being fortified against  
 him. The Lord Grey, son to the Earl of Stamford, had  
 the command of Leicestershire, and had put a garrison  
 into Leicester. Derbyshire, without any visible party in  
 it for the King, was under the power of Sir John Gell,  
 who had fortified Derby. And all these counties, with  
 Staffordshire, were united in an association against the  
 King under the command of the Lord Brook; who was,  
 by the Earl of Essex, made General of that association;  
 a man cordially disaffected to the government of the  
 Church, and upon whom that party had a great depend-  
 ence. This association received no other interruption  
 from, or for the King, than what Colonel Hastings gave;  
 who, being a younger son to the Earl of Huntingdon, had  
 appeared eminently for the King from the beginning;  
 having raised a good troop of horse with the first, and, in  
 the head thereof, charged at Edge-hill.

After the King was settled at Oxford, Colonel Hastings,  
 with his own troop of horse only, and some officers which  
 he easily gathered together, went with a commission into

BOOK VI. Leicestershire, of "Colonel General of that county," and fixed himself at Ashby de la Zouch, the house of the Earl of Huntingdon, his father, who was then living; which he presently fortified; and, in a very short time, by his interest there, raised so good a party of horse and foot, that he maintained many skirmishes with the Lord Grey: the King's service being the more advanced there, by the notable animosities between the two families of Huntingdon and Stamford; between whom the county was divided passionately enough, without any other quarrel. And now the sons fought the public quarrel, with their private spirit and indignation. But the King had the advantage in his champion, the Lord Grey being a young man of no eminent parts, and only backed with the credit and authority of the Parliament: whereas Colonel Hastings, though a younger brother, by his personal reputation, had supported his family; and, by the interest of it, and the affection that people bore to him, brought, no doubt, an addition of power to the very cause. Insomuch as he not only defended himself against the forces of the Parliament in Leicestershire, but disquieted Sir John Gell in Derbyshire, and fixed some convenient garrisons in Staffordshire.

About the same time, some gentlemen of that county, rather well affected than experienced, before they were well enough provided to go through their work, seized on the Close in Lichfield for the King; a place naturally strong, and defended with a moat, and a very high and thick wall; which in the infancy of the war was thought a good fortification. To suppress this growing force, within the limits of his association, the Lord Brook advanced with a formed body of horse, foot, and cannon; part drawn from the Earl of Essex's army, and the rest out of the garrisons of Coventry and Warwick; and, without any resistance, entered the city of Lichfield; which, being unfortified, was open to all comers. The number in the Close was not great, nor their provisions such as should have been, and very well might have been, made; so that

he made no doubt of being speedily master of it; Sir John Gell having brought up a good addition of strength to him from Derby. He was so far from apprehending any danger from the besieged, that himself lodged in a house within musket-shot of the Close; where, the very day he meant to assault it, sitting in his chamber, and the window open, he was, from the wall of the Close, by a common soldier, shot with a musket in the eye; of which he instantly died without speaking a word.

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The Lord Brook shot in besieging the cathedral of Lichfield, which was soon after taken by Sir John Gell.

There were many discourses and observations upon his death, that it should be upon St. Chad's day, (being the second day of March,) by whose name, he being a bishop shortly after the planting of Christianity in this island, that church had been anciently called. And it was reported, that in his prayer, that very morning, (for he used to pray publicly, though his chaplain were in the presence,) he wished, "that, if the cause he were in were not right and just, he might be presently cut off." They who were acquainted with him believed him to be well natured and just; and rather seduced and corrupted in his understanding, than perverse and malicious. Whether his passions or conscience swayed him, he was undoubtedly one of those who could have been with most difficulty reconciled to the government of Church or State: and therefore his death was looked upon as no ill omen to peace, and was exceedingly lamented by his party; which had scarce a more absolute confidence in any man than in him. However, it brought not that relief to the besieged in the Close as was believed it would; for the same forces, under Sir John Gell, proceeded so vigorously in the work, and they within so faintly and unskilfully, that without any of that distress which men thought it might bear, and which it did, within a short time after, bear against the King, the place was yielded without other conditions than of quarter; by which many persons became prisoners, of too good quality to have their names remembered.

By this prize, the spirits of that party were much exalted, and the King's party in those parts as much cast



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Stafford  
garrisoned  
by some  
gentlemen  
for the  
King.

down. Yet some gentlemen betook themselves to the town of Stafford, and having too much declared for the King, when they thought Lichfield would have been of strength to secure them, to hope to live unhurt at their houses, resolved to defend that place; against which Sir John Gell drew his late fleshed troops. But the Earl of Northampton (who intended the relief of Lichfield, if they had had any patience to expect it) with a strong party of horse and dragoons, from his garrison of Banbury, came seasonably to their succour, and put himself into the town; and, the same night, beat up a quarter of the enemy's, in which he killed and took above an hundred of their horse. Sir John Gell retired so far as to meet with Sir William Bruerton, who, from Nantwich, was coming to join with him for the subduing of Stafford; and, having done that, resolved to march in a body for the clearing the other counties. When they were joined, being near three thousand foot and horse, with a good train of artillery, they moved back towards Stafford, imagining the Earl of Northampton would meet them without the walls: and it so fell out; for the Earl no sooner heard that the rebels were drawing towards the town, but he drew out his party to encounter them; imagining it could be only Gell, whose numbers he understood, and whose courage he much undervalued.

It was on a Sunday, about the middle of March, when, in the afternoon, he marched out of Stafford; his party consisting of horse, and dragoons, and some few foot, the whole number being under one thousand, and found the enemy, in very good order, expecting them upon a place called Hopton-Heath, some two miles from Stafford. Though the number was more than double to the Earl's, yet the heath seeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than musket-shot from enclosure on each side, and the number of his horse being at least equal to the other, he resolved to charge them; and accordingly did, with so good success, that he totally routed that part of their horse; and, rallying again his men, he charged the other

part of their horse, which stood more in shelter of their foot; and so totally routed and dispersed them, that the enemy had scarce a horse left upon the field; and took likewise from them eight pieces of cannon.

In this second charge, the Earl of Northampton, being engaged on the execution, very near or among their foot, had his horse killed under him. So that his own horse (according to their unhappy practice) with too much fury pursuing the chase, he was left encompassed by his enemies. What his behaviour was afterwards, and their carriage towards him, can be known only by the testimony of the rebels; who confessed, that, after he was on his feet, he killed with his own hand the Colonel of foot who made first haste to him; and that, after his head-piece was stricken off with the butt-end of a musket, they offered him quarter; which, they say, he refused; answering, "that he scorned to take quarter from such base rogues" and rebels, as they were."

After which, he was slain by a blow with a halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving, at the same time, another deep wound in his face.

The Earl of Northampton slain on Hopton-Heath near Stafford, having first vanquished the enemy's horse that opposed him.

All this time the enemy's foot stood, which (after their horse were dispersed) Sir Thomas Byron, who commanded the Prince of Wales's regiment, a gentleman of great courage, and of very good conduct, charged with good execution. But the night came on apace, and the field, which they thought so fair, was found full of coal-pits and holes dangerous for their horse; so that they thought fit to forbear farther action, till they might have the morning's light; and stood all that night in the field. When the morning appeared, there was no enemy to be seen. For as soon as the fight ended, and the night drew on, that they were unperceived, they had left the field, in hope that their scattered horse would find them in quarters more remote from the danger. The victorious party was so harassed with duty, and tired with the fight, so cast down with the loss of their General, and so destitute of officers to direct and command what was next to be done, (for the Lord Compton, the Earl's eldest son, had re-

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ceived a shot in the leg ; Sir Thomas Byron a shot in the thigh, whereby they were not able to keep the field ; and many other officers hurt,) that they retired to refresh themselves at Stafford, after they had taken the spoil of the field, and buried their dead.

In this fight, which was sharp and short, there were killed, and taken prisoners, of the Parliament party, above two hundred, and more than that number wounded. For, the horse charging among their foot, more were hurt than killed. Eight pieces of their cannon, and most of their ammunition was likewise taken. Of the Earl's party were slain but five and twenty, whereof there were two captains, some inferior officers, and the rest common men ; but there were as many hurt, and those of the chief officers. They who had all the ensigns of victory, but their General, thought themselves undone ; whilst the other side, who had escaped in the night, and made a hard shift to carry his dead body with them, hardly believed they were losers :

*Et, velut æquali bellatum sorte fuisset,  
Componit cum classe virum——*

His character.

The truth is, a greater victory had been an unequal recompense for such a loss. He was a person of great courage, honour, and fidelity, and not well known till his evening ; having, in the ease, and plenty, and luxury of that too happy time, indulged to himself, with that licence which was then thought necessary to great fortunes : but from the beginning of these distractions, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper. Before the standard was set up, he appeared in Warwickshire against the Lord Brook, and as much upon his own reputation as the justice of the cause (which was not so well then understood) discountenanced, and drove him out of that county. Afterwards he took the ordnance from Banbury Castle, and brought them to the King. As soon as an army was to be raised, he levied, with the first, upon his own



charge, a troop of horse, and a regiment of foot, and (not like some other men, who warily distributed their family to both sides, one son to serve the King, whilst his father, or another son, engaged as far for the Parliament) entirely dedicated all his children to the quarrel; having four sons officers under him, whereof three charged that day in the field: and, from the time he submitted himself to the profession of a soldier, no man more punctual upon command, no man more diligent and vigilant in duty. All distresses he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardnesses, as if he had never known plenty or ease; most prodigal of his person to danger; and would often say, "that if he outlived these wars, he was certain never to have so noble a death." So that it is not to be wondered, if, upon such a stroke, the body that felt it, thought it had lost more than a limb.

As soon as it was known where the enemy rested after their retreat, the young Earl of Northampton sent a trumpet to Sir John Gell, to desire the body of his father, that he might give it such decent burial as became him. Gell and Bruerton jointly, by letter, demanded, "in exchange for the dead body, all their ammunition, prisoners, and cannon, they had lost at the battle;" which demands being so unreasonable, and against the law of arms, the Earl sent again to them, to desire, "that if they would not return the corpse, that his chirurgeon might have leave to embalm it, whereby it might be preserved to receive those rites, when they should be willing to gratify him, which, he presumed, upon more dispassionate thoughts, they would be." Their answer to this was as unreasonable as the other; "that they would neither send the body, nor permit his chirurgeons to come to embalm it;" presuming, it is probable, that the piety of the son would have prevailed to have their unheard of propositions complied with.

And so we shall, for the present, leave these parts, and visit the principality of Wales; of which, hitherto, very little hath been said; and from the affection whereof, the

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King had, from the beginning, a very great benefit; it having supplied him with three or four good regiments of foot, in which many of their gentry were engaged, before the battle of Edge-hill.

It hath been before remembered, that the Marquis of Hertford drew with him out of Wales, and brought to Oxford, about Christmas, near two thousand men; leaving Wales guarded only with the courage and fidelity of the gentry and inhabitants. After that, North Wales lying most convenient to back Chester and Shrewsbury, which places, whilst the enemy was master of the field, received their chief supplies of men and provisions from thence; the King always put it under the government of those to whom he committed those parts. South Wales, which is much the larger and richer part of that dominion, he committed to the charge of the Lord Herbert, eldest son to the Marquis of Worcester; whom he made his Lieutenant General, adding Monmouthshire to his commission.

The Lord  
Herbert,  
son of the  
Earl of  
Worcester,  
made General of  
South  
Wales.

There were, in the opinion of many, great objections against committing that employment to that noble Lord, whose person many men loved, and very few hated. First, he had no knowledge or experience in the martial profession; then his religion, being of that sort of Catholics the people rendered odious, by accusing it to be most jesuited, men apprehended would not only produce a greater brand upon the King, of favouring Papists and Popery, than he had been yet reproached with; (for, though he had some Papists entertained in his armies, yet all men trusted by him in superior commands were men of unblemished integrity in the Protestant religion; and in all his armies he had but one general officer of the contrary religion, Sir Arthur Aston, whom the Papists notwithstanding would not acknowledge for a Papist;) this gave opportunity and excuse to many persons of quality, and great interest in those counties, (between whom and that Lord's family there had been perpetual feuds and animosities,) to lessen their zeal to the King's cause, out of jealousy of the other's religion; and those contestations had been lately



improved with some sharpness, by the Lord Herbert's carriage towards the Lord Marquis of Hertford, during the time of his residence there; when, out of vanity to magnify his own power, he had not shewed that due regard to that of the other, which he should have had. And no doubt, if he had been of that mind, it would much more have advanced the King's service, if he would have contributed his full assistance to another, who more popularly might have borne the title of such a command.

But, on the other side, the necessity of disposing those parts, divided from the rest of the kingdom, under the command of some person of honour and interest, was very visible; and the expedition in doing it was as necessary; the Parliament being possessed of Gloucester and Bristol, and so having such an influence upon the trade and livelihood of that people, by their absolute command of the Severn, that, except there were extraordinary care of keeping them, they would be quickly lost. Besides that, at the same time, there was discourse, in the Houses, "of sending the Earl of Pembroke thither," whose estate was very great in those parts, and his reputation equal. The Parliament had already such footing in Pembrokeshire, that many of the principal gentlemen had declared for them; and the harbour of Milford-Haven gave their fleet opportunity to give them all supplies and relief. This being the state of those parts, the Lord Herbert not only offered, but desired to receive that command; and engaged himself, "not only to secure it from the opposition and malignity of the other party, but, before the Spring, to raise such a strength of horse and foot, and to provide such an equipage to march with, that might reduce Gloucester, and be then added to the King's army, when he should be ready to take the field; and all this so much at his own charge," (for his father, who was well able, would furnish money, as was pretended, upon the King's promise to repay him, when he should be restored to his own,) "that he would receive no part of the King's revenue, or of such money as his Majesty could be able



BOOK "to draw for the supply of his own more immediate occa-  
VI. "sions."

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This was a very great offer, and such as no man else could so reasonably make. For the Marquis of Worcester was generally reputed the greatest monied man of the kingdom; and, probably, might not think it an unthrifty thing, rather to disburse it for the King, who might be able to repay it, than to have it taken from him by the other party; which would be hardly questionable if they prevailed. The Lord Herbert himself was a man of more than ordinary affection and reverence to the person of the King, and one, who, he was sure, would neither deceive nor betray him. For his religion, it might work upon himself, but could not disquiet other men. For though he were a Papist, he was never like to make others so; and his reputation and interest was very great with many gentlemen of those counties, who were not at all friends to his religion. It was not possible to employ any person of interest and power in those parts, (and there were many objections, from the nature and manners of that people, against a mere stranger,) against whom there would not be some faction and animosity; for the emulations, and dissension between families was general, and notorious; and therefore it would be best to choose such a one, who was like to have a greater faction for him, than against him. And it was to be hoped that the old grudges and prejudices, which had been rather against the house of Worcester, and the Popish religion professed there, than against the person of this Lord, would have been composed and declined by his fair and gentle carriage towards all men, (as in truth he was of a civil and obliging nature,) and by the public-heartedness of those, who, for the cause, and conscience sake, would, it was hoped, sacrifice all trivial and private contentions to a union that must vindicate the religion, honour, and justice of the kingdom.

Upon these reasons, and these presumptions, the King granted such a commission, as is before mentioned, to the

Lord Herbert; who, with more expedition than was expected by many, or by others believed possible, raised a body of above fifteen hundred foot, and near five hundred horse, very well and sufficiently armed; which increased the merit of the service.

The horse he put under the command of his brother, the Lord John Somerset, a maiden soldier too; and the foot under Colonel Lawly, whom he made his Major General, a bold and a sprightly officer. About the middle of February he marched towards Gloucester, with an ill omen at his setting out; for a rabble of the country people being got together, without order, or officer of name, barricaded a little village in the forest of Deane, called Cover, (through which he was to pass,) and refused to give him entrance; and out of a window killed Colonel Lawly, and two officers more, without hurting a common soldier; whereby that body was destitute of any person of experience to command them. However the Lord Herbert, who was himself seldom with his forces, shortly after placed Colonel Brett in that command; who, without any skirmish of importance, marched through the forest of Deane, and fixed a quarter, which contained his whole body, at the Vineyard, the Bishop of Gloucester's palace, within less than half a mile of Gloucester. And by that means, there being only a long bridge over the Severn, by which men could come out or go in to Gloucester, he fully blocked up the town on that side, expecting that Prince Maurice from Cirencester should take equal care to distress it on the other; which he did to a good degree.

But Sir William Waller, with a light party of horse, and dragoons, near two thousand, from the Earl of Essex's army, had made a quick march through Wiltshire, (after his taking of Chichester,) and taking, with little loss and trouble, a small garrison of the King's, consisting of about six or seven score, at Malmsbury, before it was fortified, or provided, made a face of looking towards Cirencester; where when he found he was expected, by a sudden night march, in which he was very dexterous and



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Is surprised  
by Sir  
William  
Waller,  
and routed.

successful, he posted to the river of Severn, six miles west of Gloucester, from whence he had appointed many flat boats to meet him; and in them, in the light day, the guard of the river being either treacherously or sottishly neglected by the Lord Herbert's forces, transported his whole body, which, upon the advantage of that pass, might have been resisted by a few men. Hereupon the consternation was so great among the new Welsh soldiers, very few of their officers having ever seen an enemy, that though their works were too good to be entered by horse and dragoons; though the avenues were but narrow, in all which they had cannon planted, and their numbers very near, if not fully, equal to the enemy; upon the advance of Sir William Waller upon them, without giving or receiving blow, they fairly sent out to treat; and as kindly delivered up themselves, and their arms, upon the single grant of quarter: a submission so like a stratagem, that the enemy could hardly trust it. Yet, in the end, they made a shift to put near thirteen hundred foot, and three troops of horse, prisoners into Gloucester, the Lord Herbert himself being at that time at Oxford, and the Lord John Somerset with three or four troops at a safe distance from the rest.

This was the end of that mushroom-army, which grew up and perished so soon, that the loss of it was scarce apprehended at Oxford, because the strength, or rather the number, was not understood. But if the money, which was laid out in raising, arming, and paying that body of men, which never advanced the King's service in the least degree, had been brought into the King's receipt at Oxford, to have been employed to the most advantage, I am persuaded the war might have been ended the next Summer. For I have heard the Lord Herbert say, "that those preparations, and the other, which by that defeat were rendered useless, cost above threescore thousand pounds;" whereof, though much came from the Marquis's coffers, yet, no doubt, the general contributions from the Catholics made a good part; and very considerable sums



were received by him of the King's revenue upon wardships, and other ways: for it was a common practice in those times, for men to get into employments upon promises, that they would not do this or that, without which nobody else would undertake that service; and being, upon those terms, received into it, they immediately did the other, because no other man would do the service without it.

The fame of this prodigious victory so subdued all those parts, that Sir William Waller, with the same spirit of celerity, and attended with the same success, flew to Hereford; and, though a walled town, and replenished with a garrison, had that likewise delivered to him upon the same terms as the other was; and from thence (being with more confidence refused to be admitted into Worcester, than he thought reasonable to require it) passed to Tewkesbury; which he likewise surprised, being newly garrisoned; his motion being so quick, that though Prince Maurice attended him with all possible diligence, he could never farther engage him than in light skirmishes; and, having taken this progress, returned safe to Gloucester; and from thence to the Earl of Essex's army; having made no other use of his conquests, than the dishonouring so many places, which had so quietly yielded to him; into which (for he fixed no one garrison) the King's forces immediately entered again. So that his Majesty's quarters continued the same they were, harassed only, and discountenanced, nothing straitened by this incursion; and the Lord Herbert again intended new levies.

Having now, with as much clearness as I could, remembered the true state of the King's affairs, and the condition of the kingdom, at the end of this year 1642, with which I intend to conclude this sixth Book; I shall, before I return to Oxford, to conclude the year, briefly call to remembrance the disconsolate state of Ireland; of which, advantage was always taken against the King, to render him odious to the people, as if he countenanced, at least not sufficiently abhorred, that wicked and unnatu-

Sir Will. Waller takes Hereford and Tewkesbury: both which he presently left.

The state of Ireland at that time with reference to the difference between the King and the two Houses here.

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ral rebellion. And this imputation was with so great art insinuated, that it got credit with many; insomuch as I have heard some, who could make no other excuse for adhering to the Parliament, say, "they were persuaded that the King favoured those rebels;" which, they said, "could not be without some design upon the religion, liberty, and prosperity of England." Whereas I can aver truly, upon as good grounds as ever any man spoke the heart of another, that the King always looked upon it, as the most groundless, bloody, and wicked rebellion, that ever possessed the spirits of that people; and was not more grieved at any one circumstance of the domestic distractions, than as it hindered him from chastising and taking vengeance upon the other: which from his soul he desired.

But in this discourse of Ireland, it cannot be expected, that I should, neither do I intend to mention all the memorable actions, (in which were great instances of God's own detestation of those inhuman rebels, by the signal victories he gave against them,) or the other transactions within that kingdom; but shall remember no more of that business, than had immediate reference to, and dependence on, the difference between the King and the two Houses of Parliament.

It is said before, that when the first visible rupture was declared between them, which was in the business of Hull, (which the King understood to be a direct levying of war against him,) in the protestation made by his Majesty, "that he would no farther treat or concur with them in any acts proposed by them, till he first received reparation or satisfaction in that particular;" he always excepted what should any way concern Ireland: in which he offered to consent to whatsoever might reasonably conduce to the reducing those rebels; and did, after that, concur in some propositions of that nature. Yet it is certain that, from that time, the two Houses were so busy in preparing the war for England, that they did very little prepare for the war of Ireland; save only by some small



supplies of money and provisions. The King objected to them, "the employing the monies, raised, by act of Parliament, for the preservation and reduction of Ireland, with a special clause that the same should not be diverted to any other use whatsoever, in the supporting the unnatural war and rebellion against his Majesty; particularly one hundred thousand pounds at one time; and that many soldiers, raised under pretence of being sent into Ireland, were, contrary to their expectation and engagement, forced to serve under the Earl of Essex against the King;" of which he named Sir Faithful Fortescue's regiment of horse, and the Lord Wharton's and the Lord Kerry's regiment of foot.

To this they answered, "that albeit they had, upon the urgent occasions of this kingdom, sometimes made use of monies raised and collected for Ireland; yet that they had in due time repaid it, and that the other affairs had never suffered by the loan: and for the men, that it proceeded from his Majesty's own default; for after they had raised them, with a serious intention to send them into Ireland, under the command of the Lord Wharton, the King refused to grant a commission to him to transport them, and so they had been compelled to use them in their own service here."

The King replied, "that it appeared, they had diverted that money to other uses than those for which it was provided; which was manifestly unlawful; and that it did not appear they had again reimbursed it, because very little supply was sent thither, and very much wanted: and for the soldiers, that they first levied them, without his Majesty's leave; which they had always before asked, for their other levies; and being levied, they desired a commission for the Lord Wharton to command them absolutely, without any dependence upon the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; which had been never heard of, and which his Majesty refused; but offered such a commission as was granted to other men."

On the other hand, they objected to the King, "the



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“ seizing some cart-horses at Chester, provided for the  
 “ train of artillery for Ireland; that his forces had taken  
 “ many clothes and provisions on the road, which were  
 “ going to Chester to be transported thither for the relief  
 “ of the soldiers; and that he entertained and counte-  
 “ nanced men in his court, which were favourers or actors  
 “ in that rebellion:” naming the Lord Viscount Costeloe,  
 and the lord Taffe, which gave great umbrage to those who  
 were well affected, and as great encouragement to the re-  
 bels there.

To the first, the King confessed, “ he found about six  
 “ score horses at Chester, which had long lain there; and,  
 “ at his remove from Nottingham, knowing the other  
 “ horse and men raised for Ireland were then marching  
 “ with the Earl of Essex against him, he knew not but  
 “ these likewise might be so employed, and therefore in  
 “ his own necessity took them for his own draughts. For  
 “ the clothes, which had been taken by his soldiers, that it  
 “ proceeded by the default of the Parliament; who, after  
 “ the war was begun, had sent those carriages through his  
 “ quarters, without sending to his Majesty for a safe con-  
 “ duct, or giving any notice to him of it, till after they  
 “ were taken: that it was within two miles of Coventry  
 “ (which was then in rebellion) that those clothes were  
 “ taken; and that, as soon as he knew they were designed  
 “ for Ireland, his Majesty had used the best means he  
 “ could to recover them; but that the soldiers, who were  
 “ almost naked, had divided them for their own supplies;  
 “ and his Majesty offered to give a safe conduct at all  
 “ times for whatsoever should be designed for Ireland.”

The occasion of the other reproach, “ for countenancing  
 “ persons who adhered to the rebels,” was this. The  
 Lords Dillon (Viscount Costeloe) and Taffe had, four  
 months before, passed out of Ireland into England, having  
 never been in consort with the rebels, but so much trusted  
 by them, that they desired, by their hands, to address a  
 petition to the King; humble enough, desiring “ only to  
 “ be heard, and offering to submit to his Majesty’s single

“judgment.” With this petition, and all other instructions, as they pretended, these Lords acquainted the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland; who were so well satisfied with the persons employed, that they granted their safe pass, and sent letters by them of testimony. They were no sooner landed in England, but they were apprehended, and sent prisoners to the Parliament, and by them committed with all strictness, “as agents employed by the “rebels of Ireland to the King;” and that circumstance enforced, and spread among the people, with all licentious glosses against the King; who, for that reason, took no notice of their restraint, though from his ministers he received advertisement of the truth of the whole business. After some time was spent in close imprisonment, these Lords, by petition, and all other addresses they could make, pressed to be brought to any kind of examination and trial; of which they found no other benefit, than that, upon this importunity, their imprisonment was less close; and, by degrees, under a formal restraint, (which, though more pleasant, was not less costly,) had the liberty of London, and from thence, after four months’ restraint, without being formally charged with any crime, or brought to any trial, which they often desired, they escaped, and came to York; whither a messenger from the House of Commons followed them, and demanded them as prisoners.

Many were of opinion, that they should have been delivered back; foreseeing that the Parliament would press the scandal of sheltering them much to the King’s disadvantage; and any imputations, “of countenancing the “rebels of Ireland,” found more credit, and made deeper impression with the people, than any other discourses of “protecting Malignants and Delinquents.” On the other side, it was thought unreasonable to remit men to an imprisonment, which appeared to have been unjust, by their not being proceeded against in so long time; especially when their coming to the King would be declared such a crime, that it would be now in their enemies’ power to cause them to be punished; which before they could not



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do; at best, it were to deliver them up to the Serjeant of the House of Commons, from whence no innocence could redeem them, without paying such vast fees, as would amount to a greater sum than they could probably be supplied with. So that the King, who wished that they had rather gone any whither than where he was, resolved to take no notice of their escape. And so they continued in his quarters, and put themselves into the troops; where they behaved themselves with good courage, and frankly engaged their persons in all dangerous enterprizes.

In these jealousies and contests, the King being visibly and confessedly unable to send succours of any kind thither, and the Parliament having enough else to do, and, in truth, not taking so much pains to preserve it, as to impute the loss of it to the King, poor Ireland got very small relief. The Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, had received his dispatch from the King, before he went to Shrewsbury. But when the King thought he would have gone directly to Chester, and so to Ireland, his Lordship returned to London; which increased the King's jealousy and prejudice to him; which his former carriage, and a letter writ lately by him from Nottingham to the Earl of Northumberland, and by order of Parliament printed, had begot to a great degree. Shortly after his return to London, the House of Commons demanded "to see the instructions he had received from the King;" which, as it was unreasonable in them, so he had received express command from the King, "not to communicate them." However, after he had avoided it as long as he could, and they continued peremptory in the demand, in the end, he produced them to be perused by the committee of both Houses. The truth is, the Earl's condition was very slippery, and almost impossible to be safely managed by the most dexterous person.

He was designed to that employment by the King, shortly upon the death of the Earl of Strafford, (or rather before; not without some advice from that Earl,) with as great circumstances of grace and favour, as could be; and



as a person, of whom entirely the King assured himself, being then so ungracious to the Parliament, that as there were some sharp glances at him in that time, (which are before remembered,) so nothing preserved him from a public exception, but the interest of the Earl of Northumberland, whose sister he had married; whom that party was not willing to irreconcile. After the rebellion was broke out in Ireland, and the King had committed the carrying on the war to the Houses, he thought it absolutely necessary for his province, to render himself as gracious to that people as was possible; and laboured that with so good effect and industry, that he omitted that care which should have been observed in continuing his interest at Court. For the King and Queen grew every day less satisfied with him; which sure he did not with wariness enough provide against; though, I believe, he had never unfaithful purposes towards either of them; but did sadly project, by his demeanour and interest in the Houses, to provide so well for Ireland, and to go thither in so good a condition, that, being once there, he might be able to serve the King as he should be required.

But one man is rarely able to act both those parts: for his shewing his instructions, he gave a reason, which, if he had been free from all other objections, might appear no ill excuse: "He knew his instructions were such, that, being perused by the committee, could by no misconstruction, or possible perversion, be wrested to the King's disadvantage;" as indeed they never were able, nor ever attempted, to fix any reproach from them upon the King. "Whereas, after they were so peremptorily required, if he should have as peremptorily refused to submit, they would have concluded that there had been somewhat unjustifiable in them, and upon that jealousy made no scruple of publishing the worst reproaches upon his Majesty." And it may be, he was not without an imagination, that if by this contest he had drawn the displeasure of the two Houses upon him, as could not be avoided, his misfortune at court might have suffered that contest to

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have depressed him. And when he left the King between Nottingham and Shrewsbury, his condition was so low at court, that a man might have imagined his interest would be best preserved by being within the verge of the Parliament's protection. As his return to London was besides the King's expectation, so his stay there was longer than seemed to be intended by his own proposal; for he staid there above two months, till after the battle of Edgehill, and both parties being fixed in their winter quarters; and then, without waiting again on the King, though Oxford was very few miles out of his way, about the end of November, he went to Chester, with a purpose of transporting himself for Ireland, but without the least appearance of addition of strength, or provisions from the Parliament; neither were their ships there ready to transport him.

About the end of November, four officers of the army in Ireland, Sir James Montgomery, Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Arthur Hill, and Colonel Audly Mervin, having been employed from Ireland to solicit the Parliament for succours, came from London to Oxford, and delivered a petition to the King; in which they told him, "that they  
"had addressed themselves to the Parliament for supplies,  
"whose sense of their miseries, and inclination to redress  
"them, appeared very tender to them; but the present  
"distempers of the kingdom of England were grown so  
"great, that all future passages, by which comfort and life  
"should be conveyed to that gasping kingdom, seemed  
"totally to be obstructed; so that, unless his Majesty,  
"out of his singular wisdom and fatherly care, applied  
"some speedy remedy, his loyal and distressed subjects of  
"that kingdom must inevitably perish. They acknow-  
"ledged his princely favour and goodness since this re-  
"bellion, so abundantly expressed in a deep sense and  
"lively resentment of their bleeding condition; and there-  
"fore they besought him, among his other weighty cares,  
"so to reflect upon the bleeding condition of that perish-  
"ing kingdom, that timely relief might be afforded. Other-



“ wise his loyal subjects there must yield their fortunes, as  
“ a prey; their lives, a sacrifice; and their religion, a  
“ scorn to the merciless rebels, powerfully assisted from  
“ abroad.”

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And indeed the condition of the Protestants, in that kingdom, was very miserable: for, whilst the distractions of England kept them from receiving succours from thence, the rebels had arms, ammunition, money, and commanders, from Rome, Spain, and France; the Pope having sent a formal avowed Nuncio, to whose jurisdiction the Irish submitted; and the Kings of France and Spain having sent great supplies, and their agents, to countenance and foment the rebellion; who gave notable countenance to the assembly and formed council for the rebels, settled at Kilkenny.

The King, who well knew this petition was sent by the permission of those at Westminster, and that the agents employed were men of notorious disaffection to him, who looked for some such answer as might improve the envy of the people, used the messengers with all possible grace, and returned them as gracious an answer: “ That, from  
“ the beginning of that monstrous rebellion, he had had  
“ no greater sorrow, than for the bleeding condition of  
“ that his kingdom. That he had, by all means, laboured,  
“ that timely relief might be afforded to it, and consented  
“ to all propositions, how disadvantageous soever to him-  
“ self, that had been offered to him to that purpose; and,  
“ not only at first recommended their condition to both  
“ his Houses of Parliament, and immediately, of his own  
“ mere motion, sent over several commissions, and caused  
“ some proportion of arms and ammunition (which the  
“ petitioners well knew to have been a great support to  
“ the northern parts of that kingdom) to be conveyed to  
“ them out of Scotland, and offered ten thousand volun-  
“ teers to undertake that war; but had often pressed, by  
“ many several messages, that sufficient succours might be  
“ hastened thither, and other matters of smaller impor-  
“ tance laid by, which did divert it; and offered, and most



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“ really intended, in his own royal person, to have undergone the danger of that war, for the defence of his good subjects, and the chastisement of those perfidious and barbarous rebels; and in his several expressions of his desires of treaty and peace, he had declared the miserable present condition and certain future loss of Ireland, to be one of the principal motives most earnestly to desire, that the present distractions of this kingdom might be composed, and that others would concur with him to the same end.”

He told them, “ He was well pleased, that his offers, concurrence, actions, and expressions, were so rightly understood by the petitioners, and those who had employed them, (notwithstanding the groundless and horrid aspersions which had been cast upon him;) but he wished, that, instead of a mere general complaint, to which his Majesty could make no return but of compassion, they could have digested, and offered to him any such desires, by consenting to which, he might convey, at least in some degree, comfort and life to that gasping kingdom; preserve his distressed and loyal subjects of the same from inevitably perishing, and the true Protestant religion from being scorned and trampled on by those merciless rebels. And, if the petitioners could yet think of any such, and propose them to his Majesty, he assured them, that by his readiness to consent, and his thanks to them for the proposal, he would make it appear to them, that their most pressing personal sufferings could not make them more desirous of relief, than his care of the true religion, and of his faithful subjects, and of his duty, which obliged him, to his power, to protect both, rendered him desirous to afford it to them.”

The King being fully informed now, as well by this committee, as from his ministers of state in that kingdom, of the growing power of the rebels in Ireland, and of the weak resistance his good subjects were like to make, whose only hopes depended upon those succours which they presumed the Lord Lieutenant would bring over with him,

and that he was now going thither without the least addition of strength, or probable assurance that any would be sent after him; his Majesty considered likewise, that, besides the damp this naked arrival of the Lord Lieutenant there must cast upon the minds of all, it would make likewise a great alteration in the conduct of affairs there. For, upon his landing, the commission to the Earl of Ormond, of Lieutenant General of the army, would be determined; and there had those jealousies and disrespects passed between the Earl of Leicester and him, that the Earl of Ormond was resolved, no more to continue that command, but immediately to transport himself out of that kingdom; by which the King should lose the service of a person much the most powerful, most able, and most popular within that kingdom; and who had, with wonderful courage and conduct, and almost miraculous success, hitherto restrained the rage and fury of the rebels, and indeed a man so accomplished, that he had either no enemies, or such who were ashamed to profess they were so.

Upon these considerations, the King thought fit, for some time, till he might farther weigh the whole business, to suspend the Earl of Leicester's journey: and therefore sent to him to Chester (where he had lain, in some indisposition of health, above a fortnight; and the ships being not yet come for his transportation) "to attend his Majesty at Oxford;" which he did shortly after Christmas, and continued there; the King directing the Earl of Ormond (whom about this time he made a Marquis) "to carry on the war as he had done; and, during the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, to dispose of all places and offices in the army which became void." His Majesty likewise at this time made an alteration in the civil power; for whereas Sir William Parsons and Sir John Burlacy had continued Lords Justices from and before the death of the Earl of Strafford, the King finding that Sir William Parsons (who was a man of long experience in that kingdom, and confessed abilities, but always of suspected reputation) did him all imaginable disservice, and



**BOOK VI.** combined with the Parliament in England, removed him from that trust; and, in his room, deputed Sir Harry Tichborne, a man of so excellent a fame, that though the Parliament was heartily angry at the remove of the other, and knew this would never be brought to serve their turn, they could not fasten any reproach upon the King for this alteration.

Another circumstance must not be forgotten. After the war broke out in England, the Parliament had sent over two of their members of the Commons (Mr. Raynolds and Mr. Goodwyn) as a committee into Ireland, to reside at Dublin, and had given directions to the Lords Justices, "that they should have leave to be present at their consultations;" which they had; and were no other than spies upon those, who should presume to deliver any opinions there not agreeable to the sense of the Houses. When the King made that alteration in the government, he likewise took notice, that strangers were admitted to be present at their debates, which had never been before practised; and therefore required them, "that it might be so no more." Hereupon, the committee, who had carried themselves very insolently and seditiously there, and with notable contempt of the King, and his authority, were, by the Lords Justices and Council, inhibited from being present at the Council; and thereupon they quickly left the kingdom, and returned to London; the Parliament unreasonably accusing the King of a new breach of privilege, for this disrespect to their members. This was the state of Ireland, the war being that Spring prosperously carried on by the Marquis of Ormond, and the Earl of Leicester still staying at Oxford with the title of Lord Lieutenant. And so we will return to Oxford and London.

Many days being past since the return of the committee of Lords and Commons from Oxford, with the King's answer to their propositions, and no reply being made by the Houses, or indeed any solemn debate entered thereupon, (for his Majesty had every day information of what passed among them, even in their most secret councils,)



and, on the contrary, preparations more vigorously intended for the war, than had been before, in sending out strong parties to infest the King's quarters, (for, besides the incursions and progress of Sir William Waller, which are before remembered, Mr. Hambden had made some attempts upon the Brill, a garrison of the King's upon the edge of Buckinghamshire, but without effect, and with some considerable loss,) in levying great numbers of men, for the recruiting the Earl of Essex's army; and designing new extraordinary ways for the raising of money, and associating several counties of the kingdom, towards the raising new armies: the King, as well to have the conveniency of sending to London, (of which journeys he made good use,) as to quicken and necessitate them to some reply, sent another message to them, putting them in mind of

"the proposition he had made for a cessation of arms;" and desired "if they approved of a cessation, that the day upon which they thought fit it should begin, and such particulars, limits, and conditions of it, as were necessary to be understood, and agreed on, before the cessation itself could actually begin, might be proposed by them. Since," his Majesty said, "he supposed, by the present great preparations of several forces to march several ways, that, till all that should be agreed upon, they did not conceive themselves obliged to an actual cessation; so neither, till then, did his Majesty conceive himself obliged to it: however, he wished it might be clearly understood between them, that no such imputations, as had been formerly, might be laid upon him, upon occasion of any thing that might intervene."

The King puts the two Houses in mind of his proposition for a cessation of arms.

This message put a necessity upon them, of entering again upon the argument, and gave them, who desired peace and accommodation, an opportunity to press for the debate, which had been craftily laid aside for the dispatch of other matters; that party, which was most deeply engaged in the war, and resolved to carry it on, having a notable dexterity in keeping those things from being debated, in which they found their sense would not prevail.

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And at this time, the number of those in both Houses, who really desired the same peace the King did, was (if they had not been overwitted by them) superior to the other. For, besides that many persons, who from the beginning had always dissented from them, for their ease and conveniency had staid among them, very many were convinced in their understandings, that they had been misled; and discerned, in what a bottomless gulph of misery the kingdom would be plunged, if an immediate composure were not made; and some of those who had been as fierce as any, and given as great countenance to the kindling the fire, either out of conscience that they had done amiss, or fear that the King would prevail by power, or anger that they found other men valued above them; in their present distraction, or their natural inconstancy even in ill, were most solicitous for a treaty. So that, within few days after the receipt of this message, both Houses agreed, “that there should be a treaty, in “which so much of the King’s propositions as concerned “the magazines, forts, and ships, and the proposition of “both Houses for the disbanding the armies, should be “first treated on, and concluded, before the proceeding to “treat upon any of the other propositions; and that the “treaty should begin the fourth of March, or sooner if it “might be; and that, from the beginning, the time “should not exceed twenty days.”

Both Houses agree there should be a treaty; and they send for a safe conduct.

The persons they made choice of to treat, were the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Say, Mr. Pierrepont, Sir William Armin, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Whitlock, for whose safe conduct they dispatched a messenger to his Majesty; this resolution being taken but the last day of February. As soon as the request was presented, the King returned a safe conduct for the Earl of Northumberland and the four commoners; but refused to admit the Lord Say to his presence, upon the same exception he had formerly refused Sir John Evelyn at Colebrook; his Lordship being personally excepted from pardon by a former proclamation; but signified, “that if they would employ

The King grants it to all they name but the Lord Say.



“any other person not within the same rule, he should as freely come as if he were in the safe conduct.”

Whether the Lord Say was nominated by those who believed they should be able, upon the refusal of him, (which they could not but foresee,) to break off all overtures of farther treaty; or whether they believed, they had so far prevailed by underhand negotiations at Oxford, that he should be admitted, and that he would have been able to persuade the King to yield to what they proposed, or at least to have engaged the King to those who would have yielded to him, I know not; but as it was not so insisted on at Westminster as to break the treaty, so many were of opinion at Oxford, that the King should have admitted him. They said, “he was a wise man, and could not but know, that it would not be possible for him to make any impression upon his Majesty’s judgment in the propositions in debate; and therefore, that he would never have suffered himself to be designed to that negotiation, (which, without doubt, by his interest in both Houses he might have prevented,) if he did not purpose to do some signal service to his Majesty.” And indeed many believed, “that if he had come, and found the King’s goodness inclined to pardon and trust him, that he would have done the best he could, to redeem his former breaches.” Others were of opinion, “that he was so far from being inclined to serve the King, or advance the treaty, that they would have sent him as a spy, lest others should;” and these were the thoughts both at Oxford and London. But the King, who knew the Lord Say as well as any of them, believed, that it was not in his power to do any good, and if it had, that it was not in his will; was resolved not to break his rule, lest such a remission might give advantage against him in the future; and so sent the answer above remembered. Together with this desire of a safe conduct, they sent his Majesty word, “that they had likewise consented, that there should be a cessation of arms on either side, under the restrictions and limitations hereafter following.



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The two  
Houses  
send their  
terms for a  
cessation.

1. "That all manner of arms, ammunition, victuals, money, bullion, and all other commodities, passing without such a safe conduct as may warrant their passage, may be stayed and seized on, as if no cessation was agreed on.

2. "That all manner of persons, passing without such a safe conduct as is mentioned in the article next going before, shall be apprehended, and detained, as if no such cessation were agreed on at all.

3. "That his Majesty's forces in Oxfordshire should advance no nearer to Windsor than Wheatley, and in Buckinghamshire no nearer to Aylesbury than Brill; and that, in Berkshire, the forces respectively shall not advance nearer the one to the other, than now they are: and that the Parliament forces in Oxfordshire shall advance no nearer to Oxford than Henley, and those in Buckinghamshire no nearer to Oxford than Aylesbury: and that his Majesty's forces shall take no new quarters, above twelve miles from Oxford, any way; and the Parliament forces shall take no new quarters, above twelve miles from Windsor, any way.

4. "That no siege shall be begun or continued against Gloucester; and that his Majesty's forces, now employed in the siege, shall return to Cirencester and Malmsbury, or to Oxford, as shall be most for their convenience; and the Parliament forces, which are in Gloucestershire, shall remain in the cities of Gloucester, Bristol, and the castle and town of Berkley, or retire nearer to Windsor, as they shall see cause: and that those of Wales, which are drawn to Gloucester, shall return to their quarters where they were before they drew down to Gloucestershire.

5. "That, in case it be pretended on either side, that the cessation is violated, no act of hostility is immediately to follow, but first the party complaining is to acquaint the Lord General on the other side, and to allow three days, after notice, for satisfaction; and in case satisfaction be not given, or accepted, then five days' no-

“ tice to be given, before hostility begin, and the like to  
“ be observed in the remoter armies, by the commanders  
“ in chief.

6. “ Lastly, that all other forces, in the kingdom of  
“ England, and dominion of Wales, not before mentioned,  
“ shall remain in the same quarters, and places, as they  
“ are at the time of publishing this cessation, and under  
“ the same conditions as are mentioned in the articles be-  
“ fore. And that this cessation shall not extend, to re-  
“ strain the setting forth or employing of any ships, for  
“ the defence of his Majesty’s dominions.”

All which they desired “ his Majesty would be pleased  
“ to ratify and confirm; and that this cessation might be-  
“ gin upon the fourth of March next, or sooner if it might  
“ be; and continue until the five and twentieth of the  
“ same month; and in the mean time to be published on  
“ either side; and that the treaty might likewise com-  
“ mence upon the same day; and the continuance thereof  
“ not to exceed twenty days.”

These propositions were delivered to his Majesty on the first of March, which was almost a month after the cessation had been proposed by him, (for his propositions were made on the third of February,) which administered cause of doubt, that the overture was not sincere; since it was hardly possible, that the cessation could begin so soon as the fourth, by which time, though the King should consent to the terms proposed, upon sight, his answer could very hardly be returned to them. But the articles themselves were such as occasioned much debate, and difference of opinion, among those who desired the same thing. The King, after the examination of them with his Privy Council, and at a council of war, made a committee out of each, to consider the inconvenience his consent to them might produce to his party, if that cessation and treaty did not produce a peace; and the inequality in them, if the overture passed from an equal enemy according to the rules of war. Some were of opinion, “ that the cessation should  
“ be consented to by the King, upon the articles proposed,

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“ though they should be thought unequal, not only be-  
“ cause it would be an act of great grace and compassion  
“ to the people, to give them some respite, and taste of  
“ peace, and the not consenting to it (the reason not be-  
“ ing so easy to be understood) would be as impopular  
“ and ungracious; but that, they believed, it would at  
“ least cast the people into such a slumber, that much of  
“ their fury and madness would be abated; and that they  
“ would not be easily induced to part with the ease they  
“ felt, and would look upon that party as an enemy, that  
“ robbed them of it; that it would give an opportunity of  
“ charitable intercourse, and revive that freedom of con-  
“ versation, which, of itself, upon so great advantage of  
“ reason, as they believed the King’s cause gave, would  
“ rectify the understanding of many who were misled;  
“ but especially, that it would not only hinder the recruit of  
“ the Earl of Essex’s army, (for that no man would be so  
“ mad to declare themselves against the King, when they  
“ saw a cessation, in order to restoring the King to his  
“ rights,) but would lessen the forces he had already; in  
“ that the army consisted most of men engaged by the pay,  
“ not affection to the cause; who, upon such a remission  
“ of duty as would necessarily attend a cessation, would  
“ abandon a party which they foresaw, upon a peace, must  
“ be condemned, though it might be secure: and whereas  
“ all overtures of a treaty hitherto had advanced their le-  
“ vies upon pretence of being in a posture not to be con-  
“ demned, they believed, a real cessation would render  
“ those levies impossible.”

Others thought “ any cessation disadvantageous enough  
“ to the King; and therefore, that the terms, upon which  
“ it was to be made, were to be precisely looked to: that  
“ the articles proposed would only produce a suspension  
“ of present acts of hostility and blood among the soldiers;  
“ but not give the least taste of peace, or admit the least  
“ benefit to the people; for that all intercourse and con-  
“ versation was inhibited, insomuch as no person of the  
“ King’s party, though no soldier, had liberty to visit his



“ wife, or family, out of the King’s quarters, during this  
“ cessation; and the hindering recruits could only preju-  
“ dice the King, not at all the Earl of Essex, who had at  
“ present a greater army than ever before; and the city of  
“ London was such a magazine of men, as could supply  
“ him upon very small warning. Besides, though the  
“ state of the King’s army and quarters about Oxford was  
“ such as might receive some advantage by a cessation;  
“ yet, in the west, it was hoped his affairs were in the bud;  
“ and the Earl of Newcastle was so much master in the  
“ north, that if a peace ensued not, (which wise men did  
“ not believe was seriously intended on the Parliament’s  
“ part, by reason the propositions to be treated on were so  
“ unreasonable, and impossible to be consented to,) such  
“ a cessation would hinder the motion and progress of the  
“ Earl’s good fortune, and give time to the Lord Fairfax,  
“ who was at present very low, to put himself into such  
“ a posture as might give new trouble.” And it is certain  
the northern forces had then great dread of this cessa-  
tion.

To these considerations was added another of greater moment, and which could be less answered by any access of benefit and advantage on the King’s party. Hitherto the Parliament had raised their vast sums of money, for the support of their army, (which could only be supported by constant great pay,) and for the discharge of their other immense expences, incident to such a rebellion, from the city of London, and principally from their friends, not daring so rigidly to execute their ordinances generally, but contented themselves with some severe judgments upon particular men, whom they had branded with some extraordinary mark of malignancy, out of London, save only that they gleaned among their own zealots upon voluntary collections, and plundered by their army, which brought no supply to their common stock: and of what they imposed upon cities and towns, wherein they had garrisons, (in which they had been likewise very tender,) they had received very little; not venturing yet, by any general tax

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and imposition upon the people, to inflame them, and inform them how they meant to invade their liberty and their property, with the jealousy whereof they had blown them up to all those swellings and seditious humours against the King; and apprehending, that if they should attempt that, any encouragement of strength from any of the King's armies would make the whole kingdom rise against them.

The Houses  
pass an or-  
dinance for  
a weekly  
assessment  
on the  
whole  
kingdom.

But now, after they had agreed to a treaty, and framed even articles for a cessation, they passed an ordinance for a weekly assessment throughout the kingdom, towards the support of the war; by which was imposed upon the city of London the weekly sum of ten thousand pounds, and upon the whole kingdom no less than a weekly payment of thirty-three thousand five hundred and eighteen pounds, amounting in the year to one million seven hundred forty-two thousand nine hundred thirty-six pounds; a prodigious sum for a people to bear, who, before this war, thought the payment of two subsidies in a year, which, in the best times, never amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds, and never in our age to above a hundred and fifty, an insupportable burden upon the kingdom: which indeed had scarce borne the same, under all the kings that ever reigned.

For the speedy and exact collection whereof, they appointed, by the same ordinance, commissioners in each county, such as were sufficiently inclined to, and engaged in their designs. To this they added other ordinances, for exacting the twentieth part, and other payments, throughout the kingdom; which had been only undergone (and that not generally) in London; and, above all, for the sequestering and seizing of the estates of all who adhered to the King. "Now if a cessation were consented to by the King, on the articles proposed, and thereby the King's forces locked up within the several limits and narrow bounds, in which they were contained, these ordinances might be executed throughout all their quarters; and thereby vast sums be raised. Their great as-

“sociation of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Essex, (in neither of which the King had any visible party, or one fixed quarter,) upon which, the apprehension of the Earl of Newcastle’s advance upon them, kept them from notable pressures, would by this means yield them a great supply of men and money. In Somersetshire and Devonshire, whilst Sir Ralph Hopton might hereby be kept from advancing, they might raise what they would, and might dispose of the stocks and personal estates of those, whom they had, and would declare to be malignant; and so this cessation, besides the damage and prejudice to the loyal party, would probably fill the rebels’ coffers, the emptiness whereof was the most, if not only, probable way and means to determine the war.”

These considerations made a deep impression upon those, who believed the treaty was not like to produce a peace; the number of which was increased by a new resolution, at this time entered upon, and vigorously prosecuted, “to fortify the city of London, and to draw a line about it;” which was executed with marvellous expedition; which, many believed, would not have been then done, both for the charge and jealousy of it, if it had not been resolved it should not yet return to the King’s obedience. And many persons of honour and quality about the King, who had given great life to his affairs, were so startled with the sense of it, that they addressed themselves together to his Majesty, and besought him, “that they might not lose that now, by an unequal cessation, which had been preserved for them, during the licence of hostility; and that his and their enemies might not be that way enabled to destroy them, which yet they durst not attempt to do by any other.” The King hereupon, after solemn debates in council, the chief officers of his army being present, resolved to make such alterations in the articles, as might make the terms a little more equal, at least prevent so intolerable disadvantages.

The city of  
London  
fortified.

The King’s  
proposals  
of altera-  
tions in  
the two  
Houses’ ar-  
ticles of  
cessation.



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1. "To the first article as it was proposed by them, his Majesty fully and absolutely consented.

2. "To the second likewise fully, as far as it concerned all officers and soldiers of the army; but he proposed, that all other his subjects, of what quality or condition soever, might, during the cessation, pass to and from the cities of Oxford or London, or any other parts of his Majesty's dominions, without any search, stay, or imprisonment of their persons, or seizure and detention of their goods or estates: and that all manner of trade and commerce might be open and free between all his subjects, except between the officers and soldiers of either army, or for arms, ammunition, money, bullion, or victuals for the use of either army, without a pass, or safe conduct;" which, his Majesty told them, "would be a good beginning to renew the trade and correspondence of the kingdom, and whereby his subjects might be restored to that liberty and freedom they were born to, and had so happily enjoyed till these miserable distractions; and which, even during this war, his Majesty had, to his utmost, laboured to preserve, opening the way, by most strict proclamations, to the passage of all commodities, even to the city of London itself."

3, 4, 5, 6. To these the King likewise consented, with two provisions: first, "that such ships, as were necessary to be set forth, should be commanded by such persons as his Majesty should approve of. Secondly, that, during the cessation, none of his subjects should be imprisoned otherwise than according to the known laws of the land, and that there should be no plundering, or violence offered to any of his subjects." The first of these was inserted, (without purpose of insisting on it,) lest by the King's consent to the article, in the terms it was proposed, he might be thought to consent in any degree to their usurpation of the naval authority. And the second was, to prevent the execution of the ordinances before mentioned.

And his Majesty told them, "he hoped, these small alterations would sufficiently manifest, how solicitous he was for the good of his people, for whose liberties he should insist, when, in matters merely concerning himself, he might descend to easier conditions; and how desirous he was, that, in this unnatural contention, no more blood of his subjects might be spilt, upon which he looked with much grief, compassion, and tenderness of heart, even on the blood of those, who had lifted up their hands against him. And therefore he doubted not, but both Houses would consent to them. However, if any scruples should be made, he was willing that the commissioners for the treaty might nevertheless immediately come to him, and so all matters concerning the cessation might be there settled between them."

After this answer returned by the King, many days passed without any return to him; and in the mean time another address was made to his Majesty, upon which the great managers at London had set their hearts, more than upon the treaty; and for which indeed they deferred their treaty. They had still a great dependence and confidence upon their brethren of Scotland, and yet that people moved very slowly; and, since the Earl of Essex had been settled in his winter quarters, there had been high quarrels between the English and Scotch officers, insomuch as, upon some reproachful words which had been cast out, many swords were one day drawn in Westminster-hall, when the Houses were sitting, between them; and some blood drawn, which (though the Houses industriously laboured to compose it with declarations "of their joint value and respect of that nation with their own, and that their desires could only distinguish them") gave so great umbrage, that many of the Scots, some of eminent command, quitted the service; and it was hoped it would have broke any farther national combination in mischief.

But the general inclination to rebellion mastered those particular considerations and disobligations; and, about the end of February, to facilitate the King's consent to

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the grand proposition for the extirpation of episcopacy, (which the two Houses had been, by the arts before mentioned, wrought to make; when, in truth, there were very few of themselves desired it; as, when it passed the House of Peers, there were but five Lords present,) there arrived at Oxford the Earl of Lowden, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and Mr. Alexander Henderson, a man of equal fame in the distractions that arose in that kingdom: the former came as a commissioner from the Lords of the Secret Council of that kingdom, or, as they then thought fit to call themselves, "the conservators of the peace between the two kingdoms;" and desired to pass as a mediator in the differences between the King and the two Houses, and that the King would give them leave upon the matter to be umpires between them. The other, Mr. Henderson, had a special employment from the assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, to present a petition from that body to the King; the which, because it was then thought of a very strange nature and dialect, and because I shall always report the acts of that nation (as far as I am obliged to mention them) in their own words, I think very convenient to insert in this place.

But it will be first necessary, for the better understanding one angry clause in it, to remember, that, when the Earl of Newcastle marched into Yorkshire, upon occasion of some aspersions published against him by the Lord Fairfax, "that his army consisted only of Papists, and "that his design was to extirpate the Protestant religion," the Earl set forth a declaration of the reasons of his marching into that country, which was, "upon the desire "of the principal gentlemen, to rescue and protect them "from the tyranny of the Parliament;" and then, taking notice of "the scandalous imputations upon him in point "of religion," after he had vindicated himself from the least suspicion of inclination to Popery, he confessed "he "had granted commissions to many Papists, which, as he "knew, was, in this case, agreeable to the laws of the "kingdom, so he believed it very agreeable to the present



“ policy ; and that the quarrel between the King and the  
 “ two Houses being not grounded upon any matter of re-  
 “ ligion, the rebels professing themselves to be of the  
 “ same of which his Majesty was clearly known to be, and  
 “ the Papists generally at this time appearing very loyal to  
 “ him, which too many Protestants were not, he thought  
 “ their assistance might very fitly be made use of, to sup-  
 “ press the rebellion of the other.” And from thence  
 these zealous Scots concluded, that he preferred the Pa-  
 pists, in point of loyalty, before the Protestants ; which  
 was a calumny of so public a concernment, that they could  
 not be silent in. Their petition follows in these words.

To the King's most excellent Majesty ;

*The humble Petition of the Commissioners of the General  
 Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland met at  
 Edinburgh, Jan. 4, 164<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub>.*

“ Our silence, and ceasing to present before your Ma-  
 “ jesty our humble thoughts and desires, at this time of  
 “ common danger to religion, to your Majesty's sacred  
 “ person, your crown, and posterity, and to all your Ma-  
 “ jesty's dominions, were impiety against God, unthank-  
 “ fulness and disloyalty against your Majesty, and indirect  
 “ approbation and hardening of the adversaries of truth  
 “ and peace in their wicked ways, and cruelty against our  
 “ brethren, lying in such depths of affliction and anguish  
 “ of spirit ; any one of which crimes were, in us above all  
 “ others, unexcusable, and would prove us most unworthy  
 “ of the trust committed unto us. The flame of this com-  
 “ mon combustion hath almost devoured Ireland, is now  
 “ wasting the kingdom of England, and we cannot tell  
 “ how soon it shall enter upon ourselves, and set this your  
 “ Majesty's most ancient and native kingdom on fire. If  
 “ in this woful case, and lamentable condition of your Ma-  
 “ jesty's dominions, all others should be silent, it behoveth  
 “ us to speak ; and if our tongues and pens should cease,

The peti-  
 tion of the  
 General  
 Assembly  
 of the Kirk  
 of Scotland  
 presented  
 to the King  
 by Mr.  
 Hender-  
 son, signed  
 Jan. 4,  
 164<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub>.

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“ our consciences within us would cry out, and the stones  
“ in the streets would answer us.

“ Our great grief, and apprehension of danger, is not a  
“ little increased, partly by the insolence and presumption  
“ of Papists, and others disaffected to the reformation of  
“ religion, who, although for their number and power  
“ they be not considerable among us, yet, through the  
“ success of the Popish party in Ireland, and the hopes  
“ they conceive of the prevailing power of the Popish  
“ armies and the Prelatical faction in England, they have  
“ of late taken spirit, and begun to speak big words  
“ against the reformation of religion, and the work of God  
“ in this land; and partly, and more principally, that a  
“ chief praise of the Protestant religion (and thereby our  
“ not vain, but just gloriation) is, by the public declara-  
“ tion of the Earl of Newcastle, General of your Majesty’s  
“ forces for the northern parts, and nearest unto us, trans-  
“ ferred unto Papists; who, although they be sworn ene-  
“ mies unto kings, and be as infamous for their treasons  
“ and conspiracies against princes and rulers, as for their  
“ known idolatry and spiritual tyranny, yet are they  
“ openly declared to be not only good subjects, or better  
“ subjects, but far better subjects than Protestants: which  
“ is a new and foul disparagement of the reformed reli-  
“ gion, a notable injury to your Majesty in your honour, a  
“ sensible reflection upon the whole body of this king-  
“ dom, which is impatient that any subjects should be  
“ more loyal than they; but abhorreth, and extremely dis-  
“ daineth, that Papists, who refuse to take the oath of al-  
“ legiance, should be compared with them in allegiance  
“ and fidelity; and which (being a strange doctrine from  
“ the mouth or pen of professed Protestants) will suffer  
“ a hard construction from all the reformed Kirks.

“ We therefore, your Majesty’s most humble and loving  
“ subjects, upon these and the like considerations, do  
“ humbly entreat, that your Majesty may be pleased, in  
“ your princely wisdom, first to consider, that the inten-

“ tions of Papists, directed by the principles of their pro-  
“ fession, are no other than they have been from the be-  
“ ginning, even to build their Babel, and to set up their  
“ execrable idolatry and Antichristian tyranny, in all your  
“ Majesty’s dominions; to change the face of your two  
“ kingdoms of Scotland and England into the similitude  
“ of miserable Ireland; which is more bitter to the people  
“ of God, your Majesty’s good subjects, to think upon,  
“ than death; and whatsoever their present pretences be;  
“ for the defence of your Majesty’s person and autho-  
“ rity, yet, in the end, by their arms and power, with a  
“ displayed banner, to bring that to pass against your  
“ royal person and posterity, which the fifth of November,  
“ never to be forgotten, was not able by their subtile and  
“ undermining treason to produce; or, which will be their  
“ greatest mercy, to reduce your Majesty, and your king-  
“ doms, to the base and unnatural slavery of their mo-  
“ narch, the Pope: and next, that your Majesty, upon this  
“ undeniable evidence, may timously and speedily apply  
“ your royal authority, for disbanding their forces, sup-  
“ pressing their power, and disappointing their bloody  
“ and merciless projects.

“ And for this end, we are, with greater earnestness  
“ than before, constrained to fall down again before your  
“ Majesty, and, in all humility, to renew the supplication  
“ of the late General Assembly, and our own former peti-  
“ tion in their name, for unity of Religion, and uniformity  
“ of Church-government in all your Majesty’s kingdoms,  
“ and, to this effect, for a meeting of some divines to be  
“ holden in England, unto which, according to the desire  
“ of your Majesty’s Parliament, some commissioners may  
“ be sent from this Kirk; that, in all points to be pro-  
“ posed and debated, there may be the greater consent and  
“ harmony. We take the boldness to be the more instant  
“ in this our humble desire, because it concerneth the  
“ Lord Jesus Christ so much in his glory, your Majesty in  
“ your honour, the Kirk of England (which we ought to  
“ tender as our own bowels, and whose reformation is



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“ more dear unto us than our lives) in her happiness, and  
 “ the Kirk of Scotland in her purity and peace; former  
 “ experience and daily sense teaching us, that, without the  
 “ reformation of the Kirk of England, there is no hope or  
 “ possibility of the continuance of reformation here.

“ The Lord of heaven and earth, whose Vicegerent your  
 “ Majesty is, calleth for this great work of reformation at  
 “ your hands; and the present commotions and troubles  
 “ of your Majesty’s dominions are either a preparation, in  
 “ the mercy of God, for this blessed reformation and unity  
 “ of religion, (which is the desire, prayers, and expectation  
 “ of all your Majesty’s good subjects in this kingdom,) or,  
 “ which they tremble to think upon, and earnestly depre-  
 “ cate, are (in the justice of God, for the abuse of the  
 “ Gospel, the tolerating of idolatry and superstition,  
 “ against so clear a light, and not acknowledging the day  
 “ of visitation) the beginning of such a doleful desolation,  
 “ as no policy or power of man shall be able to prevent,  
 “ and as shall make your Majesty’s kingdoms, within a  
 “ short time, as miserable as they may be happy by a  
 “ reformation of religion. God forbid that, whilst the  
 “ Houses of Parliament do profess their desire of the re-  
 “ formation of religion in a peaceable and parliamentary  
 “ way, and pass their bills for that end in the particulars;  
 “ that your Majesty, the nurse-father of the Kirk of Christ,  
 “ to whose care the custody and vindication of religion  
 “ doth principally belong, should, to the provoking of the  
 “ anger of God, the stopping of the influence of so many  
 “ blessings from Heaven, and the grieving of the hearts of  
 “ all the godly, frustrate our expectation, make our hopes  
 “ ashamed, and hazard the loss of the hearts of all your  
 “ good subjects; which, next unto the truth and unity of  
 “ religion, and the safety of your kingdoms, are willing to  
 “ hazard their lives, and spend their blood, for your Ma-  
 “ jesty’s honour and happiness.

“ We are not ignorant, that the work is great, the dif-  
 “ ficulties and impediments many; and that there be both  
 “ mountains and lions in the way; the strongest let, till

“ it be taken out of the way, is the mountain of Prelacy :  
“ and no wonder, if your Majesty consider, how many  
“ Papists, and popishly affected, have, for a long time,  
“ found peace and ease under the shadow thereof; how  
“ many of the Prelatical faction have thereby their life and  
“ being; how many profane and worldly men do fear the  
“ yoke of Christ, and are unwilling to submit themselves  
“ to the obedience of the Gospel; how many there be,  
“ whose eyes are dazzled with the external glory and  
“ pomp of the Kirk; whose minds are miscarried with a  
“ conceit of the governing of the Kirk by the rules of  
“ human policy; and whose hearts are affrighted with the  
“ apprehensions of the dangerous consequences, which  
“ may ensue upon alterations. But when your Majesty,  
“ in your princely and religious wisdom, shall remember,  
“ from the records of former times, how against the gates  
“ of hell, the force and fraud of wicked and worldly men,  
“ and all panic fears of danger, the Christian Religion was  
“ first planted; and the Christian Kirk thereafter re-  
“ formed; and, from the condition of the present times,  
“ how many, from the experience of the tyranny of the  
“ Prelates, are afraid to discover themselves, lest they be  
“ revenged upon them hereafter, (whereas Prelacy being  
“ removed, they would openly profess what they are, and  
“ join with others in the way of reformation,) all obstacles  
“ and difficulties shall be but matter of the manifestation  
“ of the power of God, the principal worker; and means of  
“ the greater glory to your Majesty, the prime instrument.

“ The intermixture of the government of Prelates with  
“ the civil state, mentioned in your Majesty’s answer to  
“ our former petition, being taken away, and the right go-  
“ vernment by assemblies, which is to be seen in all the  
“ reformed Kirks, and wherein the agreement will be easy,  
“ being settled; the Kirk and Religion will be more pure,  
“ and free from mixture, and the civil government more  
“ sound and firm. That government of the Kirk must  
“ suit best with the civil state, and be most useful for  
“ kings and kingdoms, which is best warranted by God,

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“ by whom kings do reign, and kingdoms are established.  
 “ Nor can a reformation be expected in the common and  
 “ ordinary way, expressed also in your Majesty’s answer.  
 “ The wisest and most religious princes have found it im-  
 “ possible, and implying a repugnancy, since the persons  
 “ to be reformed, and reformers, must be diverse; and the  
 “ way of reformation must be different from the corrupt  
 “ way, by which defection of workmen, and corruption in  
 “ doctrine, worship, and government, have entered into  
 “ the Kirk. Suffer us therefore, dread Sovereign, to re-  
 “ new our petitions for this unity of Religion, and uni-  
 “ formity of Kirk-government, and for a meeting of some  
 “ divines of both kingdoms, who may prepare matters for  
 “ your Majesty’s view, and for the examination and appro-  
 “ bation of more full assemblies. The national assembly  
 “ of this Kirk, from which we have our commission, did  
 “ promise, in their thanksgiving for the many favours ex-  
 “ pressed in your Majesty’s letter, their best endeavour to  
 “ keep the people under their charge in unity and peace,  
 “ and in loyalty and obedience to your Majesty, and your  
 “ laws; which, we confess, is a duty well beseeeming the  
 “ preachers of the Gospel.

“ But we cannot conceal how much both pastors and  
 “ people are grieved and disquieted with the late reports  
 “ of the success, boldness, and strength of Popish forces  
 “ in Ireland and England; and how much danger, from  
 “ the power of so malicious and bloody enemies, is appre-  
 “ hended to the religion and peace of this Kirk and king-  
 “ dom, conceived by them to be the spring, whence have  
 “ issued all their calamities and miseries. Which we  
 “ humbly remonstrate to your Majesty as a necessity re-  
 “ quiring a General Assembly, and do earnestly supplicate  
 “ for the presence and assistance of your Majesty’s com-  
 “ missioner, and the day to be appointed; that, by uni-  
 “ versal consent of the whole Kirk, the best course may  
 “ be taken for the preservation of religion, and for the  
 “ averting of the great wrath, which they conceive to be  
 “ imminent to this kingdom. If it shall please the Lord,



“ in whose hand is the heart of the King, as the rivers of  
“ waters, to turn it whithersoever he will, to incline your  
“ Majesty’s heart to this through reformation; no more  
“ to tolerate the mass, or any part of Romish superstition,  
“ or tyranny; and to command that all good means be  
“ used for the conversion of your princely consort, the  
“ Queen’s Majesty, (which is also the humble desire of  
“ this whole Kirk and kingdom,) your joint comforts shall  
“ be multiplied above the days of your affliction, to your  
“ incredible joy; your glory shall shine in brightness,  
“ above all your royal progenitors, to the admiration of  
“ the world, and the terror of your enemies: and your  
“ kingdoms so far abound in righteousness, peace, and  
“ prosperity, above all that have been in former genera-  
“ tions, that they shall say, *It is good for us, that we have*  
“ *been afflicted.*”

This petition was not stranger in itself, than in the circumstances that attended it; for it was no sooner presented to the King, (if not before,) than it was sent to London, and printed, and communicated with extraordinary industry to the people; that they might see how far the Scottish nation would be engaged for the destruction of the Church; and the messenger who presented it, Mr. Henderson, confessed to his Majesty, that he had three or four letters to the most active and seditious preachers about London, from men of the same spirit in Scotland. Upon this provocation, the King might have very reasonably proceeded against Mr. Henderson, who was neither included in his safe conduct, (as the Lord Lowden and the rest of the commissioners were,) nor had any authority from the Lords of the Council of that kingdom, (who were qualified with large powers,) to countenance his employment; being sent only from the commissioners of the General Assembly, (who were not authorized by their own constitutions, to make any such declaration,) and there being then no assembly sitting; which itself, with all their new privileges, could not, with any colour of reason, or authority, have transacted such an instrument.

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However the King, who well knew the interest and influence the Clergy had upon the people of that kingdom; and that, whilst they pretended to remove them from all secular employment, they were the principal instruments and engines, by which the whole nation was wrought to sedition; resolved, not only to use the person of Mr. Henderson very graciously, and to protect him from those affronts, which he might naturally expect in a university, (especially, he having used some grave and learned Doctors with great insolence, who went civilly to him to be informed, what arguments had prevailed with him, to be so professed an enemy to the Church of England, and to give him some information in the argument; with whom he superciliously refused to hold any discourse,) but to return an answer with all possible candour to the petition itself; and so, before he entered upon the other address, made by the Lord Lowden and the rest, he returned (after very solemn debates in council, where the Earl of Lanerick the Secretary for Scotland, and other Lords of Scotland, who were of the Privy Council, were present, and fully concurred, with many expressions of their detestation of the manners of their countrymen, yet with assured confidence that they would not be corrupted to any act of hostility) to Mr. Henderson, and, with all expedition, by other hands into Scotland, this answer; which likewise I think fit to insert in the very words, that posterity may know how tender and provident the King always was, to prevent any misunderstanding of him and his actions with that people; and consequently any commotions in that kingdom; which was the only thing, he feared, might contribute to, and continue, the distractions in this.

*His Majesty's Answer to the late Petition presented unto him by the hands of Mr. Alexander Henderson, from the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.*

His Majesty's answer to the petition March 20, 1642.

“ We received lately a petition from you, by the hands of Mr. Alexander Henderson, to the which we intended

“ to have given an answer, as soon as we had transacted  
“ the business with the other commissioners, addressed to  
“ us from the conservators of the treaty of that our king-  
“ dom. But finding the same to be published in print,  
“ and to be dispersed throughout our kingdom, to the  
“ great danger of scandalizing of our well affected subjects;  
“ who may interpret the bitterness and sharpness of some  
“ expressions, not to be so agreeable to that regard and  
“ reverence, which is due to our person, and the matter of  
“ the petition itself to be reproachful to the honour and  
“ constitution of this kingdom: we have been compelled,  
“ the more strictly to examine, as well the authority of  
“ the petitioners, as the matter of the petition itself, and  
“ to publish our opinion of both, that our subjects of both  
“ kingdoms may see how equally just, and sensible, we  
“ are of the laws and honour of both our kingdoms.

“ And first, upon perusal of the petition, we required  
“ to see the commission, by which the messenger who  
“ brought the petition, or the persons who sent him, are  
“ qualified to intermeddle in affairs so foreign to their ju-  
“ risdiction, and of so great concernment to this our  
“ kingdom of England. Upon examination whereof, and  
“ in defence of the laws and government of this our king-  
“ dom, which we are trusted and sworn to defend, we  
“ must profess that the petitioners, or the General Assem-  
“ bly of our Church of Scotland, have not the least autho-  
“ rity, or power, to intermeddle or interpose in the affairs  
“ of this kingdom, or church; which are settled and esta-  
“ blished by the proper laws of this land, and, till they be  
“ altered by the same competent power, cannot be in-  
“ veighed against without a due sense of us, and this na-  
“ tion; much less can they present any advice or declara-  
“ tion to our Houses of Parliament against the same; or,  
“ to that purpose, send any letters, as they have now done,  
“ to any ministers of our Church here; who, by the laws  
“ of this land, cannot correspond against the same.

“ Therefore, we do believe that the petitioners, when  
“ they shall consider how unwarranted it is by the laws of



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“ that kingdom, and how contrary it is to the laws of this,  
“ to the professions they have made to each other, and  
“ how unbecoming in itself, for them to require the an-  
“ cient, happy, and established government of the Church  
“ of England to be altered, and conformed to the laws and  
“ constitutions of another Church, will find themselves  
“ misled by the information of some persons here, who  
“ would willingly engage the petitioners to foment a differ-  
“ ence and division between the two kingdoms, which we  
“ have, with so much care and industry, endeavoured to  
“ prevent; not having laboured more to quench the com-  
“ bustion in this kingdom, than we have to hinder the like  
“ from either devouring Ireland, or entering into Scotland;  
“ which, if all others will equally labour, will undoubtedly  
“ be avoided. But we cannot so easily pass over the men-  
“ tion of Ireland, being moved to it by the scandalous as-  
“ persions, that have been often cast upon us, upon that  
“ subject, and the use that hath been made of the woful  
“ distractions of that kingdom, as of a seminary of fears  
“ and jealousies, to beget the like distractions in this;  
“ which lest they may have farther influence, we are the  
“ more willing to make our innocence appear in that par-  
“ ticular.

“ When first that horrid rebellion begun, we were in  
“ our kingdom of Scotland; and the sense we had then of  
“ it, the expressions we made concerning it, the commis-  
“ sions, together with some other assistance, we sent im-  
“ mediately into that kingdom, and the instant recom-  
“ mendation we made of it to both our Houses of Parlia-  
“ ment in England, are known to all persons of quality  
“ there and then about us. After our return into England,  
“ our ready concurring to all the desires of both Houses,  
“ that might most speedily repress that rebellion, by pass-  
“ ing the bill of pressing, and in it a clause, which quitted  
“ a right challenged by all, and enjoyed by many of our  
“ predecessors, by parting with our rights in the lands  
“ escheated to us by that rebellion, for the encouragement  
“ of adventurers; by emptying our magazines of arms and

“ammunition for that service, (which we have since needed  
“for our necessary defence and preservation,) by consent-  
“ing to all bills for the raising of money for the same,  
“though containing unusual clauses, which trusted both  
“Houses without us with the manner of disposing it: our  
“often pressing both Houses, not to neglect that king-  
“dom, by being diverted by considerations and disputes  
“less concerning both kingdoms: our offer of raising ten  
“thousand volunteers to be sent thither; and our several  
“offers to engage our own royal person, in the suppres-  
“sion of that horrid rebellion, are no less known to all  
“this nation, than our perpetual earnestness, by our fo-  
“reign ministers, to keep all manner of supplies from  
“being transported for the relief of the rebels, is known  
“to several neighbouring Princes; which if all good sub-  
“jects will consider, and withal how many of the men,  
“and how much of the money raised for that end, and  
“how much time, care, and industry, have been diverted  
“from that employment, and employed in this unnatural  
“war against us, (the true cause of the present miseries,  
“and want, which our British armies there do now en-  
“dure,) they will soon free us from all those imputations,  
“so scandalously and groundlessly laid upon us; and im-  
“pute the continuance of the combustion of that misera-  
“ble kingdom, the danger it may bring upon our king-  
“doms of England and Scotland, and the beginning of  
“this doleful desolation, to those who are truly guilty  
“of it.

“For unity in religion, which is desired, we cannot but  
“answer, that we much apprehend, lest the Papists may  
“make some advantage of that expression, by continuing  
“that scandal with more authority, which they have ever  
“heretofore used to cast upon the Reformation, by in-  
“terpreting all the differences in ceremony, govern-  
“ment, or indifferent opinions between several Pro-  
“testant Churches, to be differences in religion; and lest  
“our good subjects of England, who have ever esteemed  
“themselves of the same religion with you, should sus-

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“ peet themselves to be esteemed by you to be of a contrary; and that the religion which they and their ancestors have held, ever since the blessed Reformation, and in, and for which, they are resolved to die, is taxed, and branded of falsehood, or insufficiency, by such a desire.

“ For uniformity in Church-government, we conceived the answer formerly given by us (at Bridgenorth, 13th October 1642) to the former petition in this argument, would have satisfied the petitioners; and is so full, that we can add little to it; viz. that the government here established by the laws hath so near a relation and intermixture with the civil state, (which may be unknown to the petitioners,) that till a composed, digested form be presented to us, upon a free debate of both Houses in a parliamentary way, whereby the consent and approbation of this whole kingdom may be had, and we and all our subjects may discern, what is to be left in, or brought in, as well as what is to be taken away; we know not how to consent to any alteration, otherwise than to such an act for the ease of tender consciences in the matter of ceremonies, as we have often offered; and that this, and any thing else that may concern the peace of the Church, and the advancement of God’s true religion, may be soberly discussed, and happily effected, we have formerly offered, and are still willing, that debates of that nature may be entered into by a synod of godly and learned divines, to be regularly chosen according to the laws and customs of this kingdom: to which we shall be willing that some learned divines of our Church of Scotland may be likewise sent, to be present, and offer, and debate their reasons. With this answer the petitioners had great reason to acquiesce, without enlarging the matter of their former petition only with bitter expressions against the established government and laws of their neighbour nation, (as if it were contrary to the word of God,) with whom they have so lately entered into a strict amity and friendship.



“ But we cannot enough wonder, that the petitioners  
“ should interpose themselves, not only as fit directors and  
“ judges between us, and our two Houses of Parliament,  
“ in business so wholly concerning the peace and govern-  
“ ment of this our kingdom; and in a matter so absolutely  
“ intrusted to us, as what new laws to consent, or not to  
“ consent to; but should assume, and publish, that the  
“ desire of reformation in this kingdom is in a peaceable  
“ and parliamentary way; when all the world may know,  
“ that the proceedings here have been, and are, not only  
“ contrary to all the rules and precedents of former Parlia-  
“ ments, but destructive to the freedom, privilege, and  
“ dignity of Parliaments themselves: that we were first  
“ driven by tumults, for the safety of our life, from our  
“ cities of London and Westminster; and have been since  
“ pursued, fought withal, and are now kept from thence  
“ by an army, raised and paid, as is pretended, by the two  
“ Houses, which consist not of the fourth part of the  
“ number they ought to do; the rest being either driven  
“ from thence by the same violence, or expelled, or im-  
“ prisoned, for not consenting to the treasons and unheard  
“ of insolences practised against us. And if the petition-  
“ ers could believe these proceedings to be in a peaceable  
“ and parliamentary way, they were very unacquainted with  
“ the order and constitution of this kingdom, and not so  
“ fit instruments to promote the reformation and peace,  
“ they seem to desire.

“ We cannot believe the intermixture of the present  
“ ecclesiastical government with the civil state, to be other  
“ than a very good reason; and that the government of  
“ the Church should be by the rules of human policy, to  
“ be other than a very good rule, unless some other go-  
“ vernment were as well proved, as pretended, to be better  
“ warranted by the word of God.

“ Of any bills offered to us for reformation, we shall not  
“ now speak, they being a part of those articles upon  
“ which we have offered, and expect to treat: but cannot  
“ but wonder, by what authority you prejudice our judg-

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“ment herein, by denouncing God’s anger upon us, and  
 “our hazard of the loss of the hearts of all our good sub-  
 “jects, if we consent not unto them. The influence of so  
 “many blessings from Heaven upon the reigns of Queen  
 “Elizabeth and our father of blessed memory, and the  
 “acknowledgment of them by all Protestant Churches, to  
 “have been careful nurses of the Church of Christ, and to  
 “have excellently discharged their duties, in the custody  
 “and vindication of religion; and the affection of their  
 “subjects to them, do sufficiently assure us, that we  
 “should neither stop the influence of such blessings, nor  
 “grieve the hearts of all the godly, nor hazard the loss of  
 “the hearts of our good subjects, although we still main-  
 “tain, in this kingdom, the same established ecclesiastical  
 “government which flourished in their times, and under  
 “their special protection.

“We doubt not, but our subjects of Scotland will rest  
 “abundantly satisfied with such alterations in their own  
 “Church, as we have assented unto; and not be per-  
 “suaded by a mere assertion, that there is no hope of  
 “continuance of what is there settled by law, unless that  
 “be likewise altered which is settled here. And our sub-  
 “jects of England will never depart from their dutiful af-  
 “fection to us, for not consenting to new laws, which, by  
 “the law of the land, they know we may as justly reject,  
 “if we approve not of them, as either House hath power  
 “to prepare for, or both, to propound to us. Nor are  
 “you a little mistaken, if either you believe the generality  
 “of this nation to desire a change of Church-government,  
 “or that most of those, who desire it, desire by it to in-  
 “troduce that which you only esteem a reformation; but  
 “are as unwilling to submit to what you call the yoke of  
 “Christ, and obedience to the Gospel, as those whom you  
 “call profane and worldly men; and so equally averse  
 “both to Episcopacy and Presbytery, that, if they should  
 “prevail in this particular, the abolition of the one would  
 “be no inlet to the other; nor would your hearts be less  
 “grieved, your expectations less frustrated, your hopes

“ less ashamed, or your reformation more secured. And  
“ the petitioners, upon due consideration, will not find  
“ themselves less mistaken in the government of all the  
“ reformed Churches, which, they say, is by assemblies,  
“ than they are in the best way of reformation; which  
“ sure is best to be in a common and ordinary way, where  
“ the passion or interest of particular men may not impose  
“ upon the public; but alteration be then only made,  
“ when, upon calm debates, and evident and clear reason,  
“ and convenience, the same shall be generally consented  
“ to for the peace and security of the people; and those  
“ who are trusted by the law with such debates, are not  
“ divested of that trust, upon a general charge of corrup-  
“ tions, pretended to have entered by that way; and of be-  
“ ing the persons to be reformed, and so unfit to be re-  
“ formers. And certainly, the like logic, with the like  
“ charges and pretences, might be used to make the Par-  
“ liament itself an incapable judge of any reformation,  
“ either in Church or State.

“ For the general expressions in the petition against  
“ Papists, in which the petitioners may be understood to  
“ charge us with compliance and even favour to their opi-  
“ nions; we have taken all occasions to publish to the  
“ world our practice and resolution in the true Protestant  
“ reformed religion: and we are verily persuaded, there is  
“ no one subject in either of our dominions, who at all  
“ knows us, and hath observed our life, but is, in his soul,  
“ satisfied of our constant zeal and unmoveable affection  
“ to that religion, and of our true dislike of, and hearty  
“ opposition to Popery. And as we willingly consented,  
“ at our being in Scotland, to all acts proposed to us, for  
“ the discountenancing and the reforming the Papists in  
“ that our kingdom; so, by our proclamations for the  
“ putting of all laws severely in execution against Recu-  
“ sants; and by not refusing any one bill, presented to us  
“ to that purpose, in this kingdom; and by our perpetual  
“ and public professions of readiness, with the advice of  
“ our two Houses of Parliament, prepared for us in a de-



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“liberate and orderly way, to find some expedient to perfect so good a work; we conceived, we had not left it possible for any man to believe us guilty of tolerating any part of the Romish tyranny or superstition; or to suspect, that the conversion of our dearest consort was not so much our desire, that the accession of as many crowns as God hath already bestowed on us, would not be more welcome to us than that day: a blessing, which it is our daily prayer to the Almighty to bestow upon us.

“But we might well have expected from the petitioners, who have, in their solemn national covenant, literally sworn so much care of the safety of our person, and cannot but know in how much danger that hath been, and still is, by the power and threats of rebellious armies, that they would as well have remembered the 23d of October, as the 5th of November; and as well have taken notice of the army raised, and led against us by the Earl of Essex, which hath actually assaulted, and endeavoured to murder us; which we know to abound in Brownists, Anabaptists, and other sectaries; and in which we have reason (by prisoners we have taken, and the evidence they have given) to believe there are many more Papists (and many of those foreigners) than in all our army; as have advised us, to disband out of the army of the Earl of Newcastle, which is raised for our defence, the Papists in that army; who are known to be no such number, as to endanger their obtaining any power of building their Babel, and setting up their idolatry; and whose loyalty he hath reason to commend (though he was never suspected for favouring their religion) not before that of Protestants, but of such as rebel under that title; and whose assistance is as due to us, by the law of God and man, to rescue us from domestic rebellion, as to defend us from foreign invasion; which we think no man denies to be lawful for them to do. But we do solemnly declare, and protest, that God shall no sooner free us from the desperate and rebellious arms taken up against us, but we shall en-

“ deavour to free ourselves and kingdom from any fear of  
 “ danger from the other, by disarming them, according to  
 “ the laws of this land; as we shall not fail to send our  
 “ commissioner to the Assembly, at the time appointed for  
 “ it by the laws of Scotland. BOOK VI.

“ To conclude, we desire and require the petitioners (as  
 “ becomes good and pious preachers of the Gospel) to use  
 “ their utmost endeavours, to compose any distraction in  
 “ opinions, or misunderstandings, which may, by the fac-  
 “ tion of some turbulent persons, be raised in the minds of  
 “ our good subjects of that our kingdom; and to infuse  
 “ into them a true sense of charity, obedience, and humi-  
 “ lity, the great principles of the Christian religion; that  
 “ they may not suffer themselves to be transported with  
 “ things that they do not understand, or think themselves  
 “ concerned in the government of another kingdom, be-  
 “ cause it is not according to the customs of that in which  
 “ they live; but that they dispose themselves, with mo-  
 “ desty and devotion, to the service of Almighty God;  
 “ with duty and affection, to the obedience of us, and our  
 “ laws; (remembering the singular grace, favour, and be-  
 “ nignity, we have always expressed to that our native  
 “ kingdom;) and with brotherly and Christian charity one  
 “ towards another: and we doubt not but God, in his  
 “ mercy to us and them, will make us instruments of his  
 “ blessings upon each other, and both of us, in a great  
 “ measure, of happiness and prosperity to the whole na-  
 “ tion.”

The Lord Lowden and the other lay-commissioners, who were persons entirely guided by him, and of inferior quality, gave the precedence to this petition, which they called matter of religion; and pressed not their own commission, till the King had declared and published his answer to the other: and though they pretended not to have any authority to say any thing in that engagement of the commissioners of the Assembly; yet the Lord Lowden used all importunity, and arguments, to persuade the King

The trans-  
actions of  
the Earl of  
Lowden  
and other  
Scottish  
commis-  
sioners at  
Oxford:  
that they  
might be  
mediators,  
and for a  
Parliament  
in Scot-  
land.

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in private, to consent to the alteration of the government of the Church; assuring him, "that it would be a means, "not only to hinder his subjects of Scotland from adhering to the Parliament; but that it would oblige them to "assist his Majesty to the utmost, in the vindication of "all his rights." But he quickly found the King too strongly fixed to be swayed in a case of conscience, by a consideration of convenience; and his Lordship undertook to give no other arguments.

He betook himself then with his companions to their own proper and avowed errand; which consisted of two parts: the one, to offer "the mediation of the conservators of the peace of that kingdom, for the composure of "the differences between the King and the two Houses;" the other, "to desire his Majesty, that he would send "out his precepts to summon a Parliament in Scotland." These desires, and any arguments to enforce them, they always delivered to the King himself in writing; declining any address to his ministers, or any debates with his Council, lest it might seem to lessen the grandeur and absoluteness of the kingdom of Scotland. But the King always brought those papers, which he received from them, to his Council; and received their advice, what answers to return. For the first, of mediation, they pretended a title and obligation to it, by a clause in the Act of Pacification made at the beginning of this Parliament; which clause was, "That the peace to be then established might be inviolably observed in all time to come, it was agreed, that "some should be appointed by his Majesty, and the Parliaments of both kingdoms, who, in the interim betwixt "the sitting of the Parliaments, might be careful, that the "peace then happily concluded might be continued; and "who should endeavour by all means to prevent all "troubles and divisions; and if any debate and difference "should happen to arise, to the disturbance of the common peace, they should labour to remove, or compose "them, according to their power; it being supposed, that, "for all their proceedings of this kind, they should be an-



“swerable to the King’s Majesty and the Parliament: BOOK  
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 “and if any thing should fall out that should be above  
 “their power, and could not be remedied by them, they  
 “should inform themselves in the particulars, and repre-  
 “sent the same to the King’s Majesty, and the ensuing  
 “Parliament; that, by their wisdoms and authority, all  
 “occasion and causes of troubles might be removed, and  
 “the peace of the kingdom might be perpetual to all  
 “posterity. And it was declared, that the power of the  
 “commission should be restrained to the articles of peace  
 “in that treaty.”

This clause, and the whole statute, being carefully perused, and examined before his Majesty in his council, the King returned an answer to them in writing.

“That he could not find any colour, or pretence of au-  
 “thority, to be granted by that act of Parliament, by  
 “which the Commissioners for Scotland could conceive  
 “themselves interested in a faculty of mediation; that the  
 “clause mentioned by them (besides that there was no  
 “such commission granted as was mentioned in that  
 “clause, nor any Commissioners named for those pur-  
 “poses) related only to the differences that might grow  
 “between the two nations; and only upon the articles of  
 “that treaty, which, his Majesty said, had been, and  
 “should be, inviolably observed by him. That the differ-  
 “ences between his Majesty and his two Houses of Par-  
 “liament had not the least relation to the peace between  
 “the two kingdoms, but to his unquestionable and long  
 “enjoyed rights, which his rebellious subjects endea-  
 “voured, by force, to wrest from him; and concerned the  
 “fundamental laws of this kingdom; which, as they could  
 “not be supposed to be known to the conservators of the  
 “peace of Scotland, so they could not have any possible  
 “cognizance of them. That it might give great umbrage  
 “to his subjects of England, if he should consent to what  
 “they now proposed; and, instead of confirming and  
 “continuing the peace, breed jealousies between the na-  
 “tions; and therefore he could not admit of any such

The King’s  
 answer to  
 them in  
 both parti-  
 culars.

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“mediation as they proposed; but that he hoped the treaty, which he now expected, would beget so good an understanding between him and his two Houses, that a peace might ensue; towards which he would expect nothing from his subjects of Scotland, but their prayers.”

This gave them no satisfaction, but they insisted still on their right by that clause; which, without any reason or argument to persuade others to be of their mind, they said, “they conceived, laid that obligation upon them of interposition;” to which the King still gave the same answer.

For their other demand of a Parliament in Scotland, the case stood thus: The King, at his last being in Scotland, had, according to the precedent he had made here, granted an act for triennial Parliaments in that kingdom; and, at the close of that present Parliament, had ratified another act, by which a certain day was appointed, for the commencement of the next; which day was to be on the first Tuesday of June, in the year 1644, except the King should call one sooner; which he had power to do. So that the question was only, whether the calling a Parliament sooner in that kingdom was like to advance his service, and to contribute to the peace of this? In the disquisition whereof, there needed no arguments, that such a convention could not then produce benefit to the King; the entire government of that people being in those persons, who had contrived those dismal alterations. On the other hand, all men thought it very happy for the King, that, without his consent, there could be no Parliament in Scotland, till June 1644; which was more than fourteen months from this time: till when, how disinclined soever the whole nation should be, there was as much assurance as could possibly be, from that people, that the Parliament would not be able to procure any avowed supply from that kingdom: it being the express words in the late Act of Pacification, “that the kingdom of England should not denounce, or make war against the kingdom of Scotland,

“without consent of the Parliament of England;” as on the other part it was enacted, “that the kingdom of Scotland should not denounce, or make war against the kingdom of England, without the consent of the Parliament of Scotland. And in case any of the subjects of either of the kingdoms should arise in arms, or make war against the other kingdom, or subjects thereof, without consent of the Parliament of that kingdom, whereof they are subjects, or upon which they do depend, that they should be held, reputed, and demanded, as traitors to the estates, whereof they are subjects. And, that both the kingdoms, in that case, should be bound to concur in the repressing of those that should happen to arise in arms, or make war, without consent of their own Parliament.”

So that whoever believed, that those people could be contained by any obligations, divine or human, thought it impossible, by these clear texts, that any forces could be raised there to invade England, and disturb his Majesty, till June 1644; before which time, there was hope the King might so far prevail, that the spirit of the rebellion might be broken, and men return again to their understanding and allegiance. Therefore to that demand the King returned answer, “that against the time by which they could legally demand a Parliament,” (naming the day,) “he would issue out his writs, and there being no emergent cause to do it sooner, he would forbear to put his subjects there to that trouble, which those meetings, how necessary soever, would naturally carry with them.”

When they perceived that they should not receive satisfaction in either of their proposals, and (which it may be troubled them more) that the King was so wary in his answers, and so clearly expressed the reasons and justice of them, that they should have no arguments to apply to the passion or interest of their countrymen; which they expected at least; (for in that, in which he was most steadfastly resolved, the preservation of the government of the Church, he expressed no more to them, than, “that being



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“ a matter of so great importance, and having so near relation to the civil government and laws of England, they “ could not be competent considerers of it; but that he “ would do what should be most safe, and necessary for “ the peace and welfare of his subjects, who were most “ concerned in it;”) at last rather cursorily, and as matter of ceremony at parting, than of moment, they desired “ the King’s leave, and pass to go to London,” having, as they said, “ some business there before their return into “ their own country.”

This was, by many, thought a thing of so small moment, that the King should readily grant it; since it was evident, that it was in their own power to go thither without his leave; for they were necessarily to return through the enemy’s quarters; and being once there, they might choose whether they would go directly home, or visit London. And therefore that request was thought but an instance of their modesty, that they might not return without one thing granted to them, at their request. But the King looked upon it as no indifferent thing; and their asking a business that they needed not ask, was enough to demonstrate, that there was more in it than appeared. And he well knew, there was a great difference between their going to London with his pass and licence, and without it, which they might easily do. They had now publicly declared their errand, and claimed a title, and legal capacity to undertake the business of mediation; which would be so far from being rejected there, that they would be thankfully received, and admitted to a power of umpirage. If upon, or after this claim, the King should grant them his pass, it would, by their logic, more reasonably conclude his assent, than many of those inferences which they drew from more distant propositions; and having that ground once, his Majesty’s not consenting to what those grave mediators would propose, and afterwards, as arbitrators, award, should be quarrel sufficient for the whole nation to engage. And therefore the King expressly denied his pass and safe conduct; and told

them plainly the reason why he did so; and required them, "since he had denied to consent to that, which  
 "could be the only ground of their going to London,  
 "that they should first return to those that sent them,  
 "before they attempted that journey: if they did otherwise, they must run the hazard of persons, whom his  
 "Majesty would not countenance with his protection." And the truth is, though they might very well have gone to London, they could not have returned thence to Scotland, (except they would have submitted to the inconvenience and hazard of a voyage by sea,) without so much danger from the King's quarters in the North, (York and Newcastle being at his devotion,) that they could not reasonably promise themselves to escape.

Whilst this was in agitation, the Committee from the Parliament for the treaty, to wit, the Earl of Northumberland, Mr. Pierrepont, Sir W. Armin, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Whitlock, came to Oxford; who shortly took notice of the Scottish Commissioners' desires, and also desired on their behalf, "that they might have his Majesty's  
 "leave to go to London:" but being quickly answered, "that that request would not fall within either of the  
 "propositions agreed to be treated of," they modestly gave over the intercession: and in the end, the Lord Lowden and his countrymen returned directly to Scotland, staying only so long in the garrisons of the enemy, through which they were reasonably to pass, as to receive such animadversions, and to entertain such communication, as they thought most necessary.

As soon as the Committee arrived at Oxford, they were very graciously received by the King; his Majesty always giving them audience in council, and they withdrawing into a private chamber prepared for them, whilst their proposals, which they still delivered in writing, were considered, and debated before the King. They declared, "that they were first to treat of the cessation, and till that  
 "was concluded, that they were not to enter upon any of  
 "the other propositions;" with which his Majesty was

The Parliament's Commissioners to treat came to Oxford.  
 The treaty begins upon the proposals of cessation; but that takes no effect.

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well pleased, presuming that they had brought, or had power to give, consent to the articles proposed by him; which he rather believed, when they read the preamble to the articles; in which it was declared, "that the Lords and Commons being still carried on with a vehement desire of peace, that so the kingdom might be freed from the desolation and destruction, wherewith it was like to be overwhelmed, had considered of the articles of cessation with those alterations, and additions, offered by his Majesty; unto which they were ready to agree in such manner as was expressed in the ensuing articles." After which, were inserted the very articles had been first sent to the King, without the least condescension to any one alteration, or addition, made by him; neither had the Committee power to recede, or consent to any alteration, but only to publish it, if the King consented in terms, and then, and not till then, to proceed to treat upon the other propositions.

This the King looked upon as an ill omen; other men as a plain contempt, and stratagem, to make the people believe, by their sending their Committee, that they did desire a treaty and a cessation, yet, by limiting them so strictly, to frustrate both, and to cast the envy of it upon the King. Hereupon, the next day, the King sent a message to them, which he published, to undeceive the people; farther pressing "the weight and consequence of his former exceptions, and alterations; and the inconvenience that proceeded from not granting their Committee power to alter so much as verbal expressions: so that, if the King should consent to the articles as they were proposed, he should not only submit to great disadvantages; but some such, as themselves would not think reasonable to oblige him to. As by that article wherein they reserved a power to send out a fleet, or what ships they thought good, to sea; they were not at all restrained from sending what land forces they pleased, to any part of the kingdom; so that, when the cessation ended, they might have new and greater armies through-



“out the kingdom, than they had when it begun; which, he presumed, they did not intend; being a thing so unequal, and contrary to the nature of a cessation.

“Then in the articles they last sent, they styled their forces, the army raised by the Parliament; the which if his Majesty should consent to, he must acknowledge, either that he consented to the raising that army, or that he was no part of the Parliament: neither of which, he conceived, they would oblige him to do. And therefore he desired, that their Committee might have liberty to treat, debate, and agree upon the articles; upon which they and all the world should find, that he was less solicitous for his own dignity and greatness, than for his subjects’ ease and liberty. But if that so reasonable, equal, and just desire of his, should not be yielded unto, but the same articles still insisted upon, though his Majesty, next to peace, desired a cessation, yet, that the not agreeing upon the one, might not destroy the hopes of, nor so much as delay, the other; he was willing to treat, even without a cessation, upon the propositions themselves, in that order that was agreed; and desired their committee might be enabled to that effect. In which treaty he would give,” he said, “all his subjects that satisfaction, that if any security to enjoy all the rights, privileges, and liberties, due to them by the law, or that happiness in Church and State, which the best times had seen, with such farther acts of grace, as might agree with his honour, justice, and duty to his crown, and which might not render him less able to protect his subjects, according to his oath, would satisfy them; his Majesty was confident, in the mercy of God, that no more precious blood of this nation would be thus miserably spent.”

This message produced liberty to the committee to enter upon the treaty itself, upon the propositions, though the cessation should not be agreed to: and shortly after they sent reasons to the King, why they consented not to the cessation in such manner, and with those limitations,

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as he had proposed. 1. They alleged, “ that, if they should  
 “ grant such a free trade, as the King desired, to Oxford,  
 “ and other places, where his forces lay, it would be very  
 “ difficult, if not impossible, to keep arms, ammunition,  
 “ money, and bullion, from passing to his army: how-  
 “ ever, it would be exceeding advantageous to his Majesty,  
 “ in supplying his army with many necessaries, and mak-  
 “ ing their quarters a staple for such commodities, as  
 “ might be vented in the adjacent counties; and so draw  
 “ money thither; whereby the inhabitants would be better  
 “ enabled by loans, and contributions, to support his army.  
 “ As this advantage to him was very demonstrable, so it  
 “ was very improbable that it would produce any supply  
 “ to them; and, in a treaty for cessation, those demands  
 “ could not be thought reasonable that were not indiffe-  
 “ rent, that is, equally advantageous to both parties.  
 “ 2. That to demand the approving the commanders of the  
 “ ships, was, to desire to add the strength of the one  
 “ party to the other, before the differences were ended;  
 “ against all rules of treaty. And to make a cessation at  
 “ sea, was to leave the kingdom naked to foreign forces,  
 “ and the ports open for his supplies of arms and ammu-  
 “ nition. But for conveying any forces, by those means,  
 “ from one part to the other, they would observe the arti-  
 “ cles by which that was restrained. 3. For the expres-  
 “ sion of the army raised by the Parliament, they were  
 “ contented it should be altered, and the name of the two  
 “ Houses used. 4. For the committing none, but accord-  
 “ ing to the known laws of the land, that is, by the ordi-  
 “ nary process of law, it would follow, that no man must  
 “ be committed by them for supplying the King with  
 “ arms, money, or ammunition; for, by the law of the  
 “ land, the subject might carry such goods from London  
 “ to Oxford: the soldiers must not be committed who do  
 “ run from their colours, and refuse any duty in the army;  
 “ no man should be committed, for not submitting to ne-  
 “ cessary supplies of money: so that if it should be  
 “ yielded to, in his Majesty’s sense, they should be dis-

“abled to restrain supplies from their enemies, and to govern and maintain their own soldiers; and so, under a disguise of a cessation, should admit that which would necessarily produce the dissolving of their army, and destruction of their cause. And,” they said, “it was not probable, that his Majesty would suffer the same inconveniences by that clause; for that they believed he would interpret, that what his General did by virtue of his commission, was and would be done according to the known laws of the land; whereas he had denied, that those known laws gave any power to the two Houses of Parliament to raise armies; and so, consequently, their General could not exercise any martial laws. So that under the specious shew of liberty and law, they should be altogether disabled to defend their liberties and laws; and his Majesty would enjoy an absolute victory and submission, under pretence of a cessation and treaty.” They said, “being, by a necessity inevitable, enforced to a defensive war, and therein warranted both by the laws of God and man, it must needs follow, that, by the same law, they were enabled to raise means to support that war; and therefore they could not relinquish that power of laying taxes upon those who ought to join with them in that defence, and the necessary way of levying those taxes upon them, in case of refusal; for otherwise their army must needs be dissolved.”

Though these reasons were capable, in a sad and composed debate, of full answers, and many things would naturally have flowed from them, to disprove the practice and assertions of the framers of them; yet it was very evident, that they carried such a kind of reason with them, as would prevail over the understandings of the people; and that the King, by not consenting to the cessation, as it was proposed by them, would be generally thought to have rejected any; which could not but have an ill influence upon his affairs: and therefore his Majesty sent them, as soon as he had weighed this late message, which he well discerned was not formed to satisfy him, but to satisfy the



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people against him, an answer; in which he explained the ill consequence of many of their assumptions, and enforced the importance of his former demands on the behalf of the people: however, he offered "to admit the cessation upon the matter of their own articles; so that he might not be understood to consent to any of those unjust and illegal powers, which they exercised upon the subjects." But from henceforward, the Houses declined any farther argument and debate concerning the cessation; and directed their committee, "to expedite the treaty upon the propositions:" the particulars whereof being transacted in the beginning of the year 1643, I shall refer the narrative to the next book; intending in this, only to comprehend the transactions to the end of 1642.

I am persuaded, if the King had, upon the receipt of the articles for the cessation, when they were first sent to him, frankly consented to it, it would have proved very much to his advantage; and that his army would very much have increased by it, and the other been impaired; and that it would have been very difficult for the Parliament to have dissolved it, if once begun, or to have determined the treaty. But besides the reasons before mentioned, the consideration of the northern forces, and the restraining them within their old quarters, who seemed to be in a condition of marching even to London itself, prevailed very far with the King; or rather (which indeed was the main reason, and rendered every other suggestion of weight) the jealousy that they did not intend to consent to or admit any peace, but such a one as his Majesty might not admit, made all the preliminary debates the more insisted on.

I cannot but insert one particular, which may hereafter be thought of some signification. It was now the time of the year, when, by the custom of the kingdom, the King's Judges Itinerant used to go the circuits throughout England and Wales, to administer justice to the people; and to inquire into all treasons, felonies, breaches of the peace, and other misdemeanors, which were any where committed

contrary to the known laws; and they were sworn to judge according to those known laws, the study and knowledge whereof was their profession. BOOK  
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The Lords and Commons now sent to the King a special message, "to advise, and desire him, that, in regard of the present distractions, which might hinder both the judges and the people from resorting to those places where such meetings might be appointed, the assizes and gaol-delivery might not be holden; but that it might be deferred, until it should please God to restore peace unto his people."

The advice and desires of the two Houses concerning gaol-delivery.

The King returned them answer; "that the present bloody distractions of the kingdom, which he had used all possible means to prevent, and would still to remove, did afflict his Majesty under no consideration more, than of the great interruption and stop it made in the course and proceedings of justice, and the execution of the laws; whereby his good subjects were robbed of the peace and security they were born to. And therefore, as much as in him lay, he would advance that only means of their happiness; at least, they should see that their sufferings that way proceeded not from his Majesty; and since they might now expect, by the laws, statutes, and customs of the kingdom, the assizes and general gaol-delivery in every county, his Majesty thought not fit to command the contrary; but would take severe and precise order, that none of his subjects should receive the least prejudice, as they repaired thither, by any of his forces, which rule he should be glad to see observed by others. And then he hoped, by the execution of the laws, even those public calamities might have some abatement, and the kingdom recover its former peace and prosperity."

His Majesty's answer.

But this answer was not more satisfactory than others they had usually received from him; and therefore they betook themselves to their old tried weapon, and made an ordinance, "that all Judges, and Justices of Assize and Nisi Prius, and Justices of Oyer and Terminer, and

The two Houses make an

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ordinance  
to forbid  
the next  
assizes,  
and gaol-  
delivery.

“Gaol-delivery, should forbear to execute any of their said commissions, or to hold or keep any assizes, or gaol-delivery, at any time during that Lent vacation; as they would answer the contempt and neglect thereof before the Lords and Commons in Parliament.” This was the first avowed interruption and suspension of the public justice, that happened, or that was known ever before in that kind; and gave the people occasion to believe, that what the Parliament did (what pretence soever there was of fundamental laws) was not so warrantable by that rule, since they laboured so much to suppress that inquisition. It was not in the King’s power to help this; for besides that the example of Judge Mallet, who, the circuit before, had been forcibly taken from the bench by a troop of horse, as is before remembered, terrified all the Judges, (and there were very few counties in England, in which they could have been secure from the like violence,) the records, upon which the legal proceedings were to be, were at London; and so the exercise of the law ceased throughout the kingdom, save only in some few counties, whither the King sent some Judges of Assize, and into others, his commission of Oyer and Terminer; by virtue whereof, the Earl of Essex, and many others, were as legally attainted of high treason, as the wisdom of our ancestors could direct.

An account  
and cha-  
racter of  
the Privy  
Counsel-  
lors then  
attending  
the King,  
and those  
who stayed  
with the  
two  
Houses.  
Mr. Hyde  
made  
Chancellor  
of the Ex-  
chequer.

The treaty, as is said, being managed at the Council-Table, the pride of the Parliament having refused to treat with any but the King himself, and his Majesty resolving to transact all by the advice and opinion of his Privy Council, it will be seasonable in this place to set down the names of all those Privy Counsellors, who attended the King: there being at this time a new one added to the number; for in the time between the return of the commissioners to London, and their coming back to the treaty, Sir John Colepepper being preferred to be Master of the Rolls, Mr. Hyde was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, till that time, though he was known to be trusted in matters of the greatest importance, was not under any



character in the Court: and when we have named those, who according to their duty did wait upon the King, we shall likewise name those, who, being under the same obligation, stayed and acted with the Parliament against him.

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The Lord Littleton was Keeper of the Great Seal of England, of whom so much hath been said before, that there is no need of enlargement upon him in this place. His parts, which in the profession of the law were very great, were not very applicable to the business now in hand; and though, from the time of the King's coming to Oxford, the King had confidence enough in him, to leave the Seal in his custody, and he would have been glad to have done any service; yet, by ill fortune, he had drawn so great a disesteem upon him from most men, that he gave little reputation to the Council, and had little authority in it.

Of the Lord  
Littleton.

The Duke of Richmond, as he was of the noblest extraction, being nearest allied to the King's person of any man who was not descended from King James; so he was very worthy of all the grace and favour the King had shewed him; who had taken great care of his education, and sent him into France, Italy, and Spain, where he was created a Grandee of that kingdom; and as soon as he returned, though he was scarce one and twenty years of age, made him a Privy Counsellor; and shortly after, out of his abundant kindness to both families, married him to the sole daughter of his dead favourite, the Duke of Buckingham; with whom he received twenty thousand pounds in portion; and his Majesty's bounty was likewise very great to him; so that, as he was very eminent in his title, he was at great ease in his fortune. He was a man of very good parts, and an excellent understanding; yet, which is no common infirmity, so diffident of himself, that he was sometimes led by men who judged much worse. He was of a great and haughty spirit, and so punctual in point of honour, that he never swerved a tittle. He had so entire a resignation of himself to the King, that he abhorred all

Of the  
Duke of  
Richmond.

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artifices to shelter himself from the prejudice of those, who, how powerful soever, failed in their duty to his Majesty; and therefore he was pursued with all imaginable malice by them, as one that would have no quarter, upon so infamous terms, as but looking on whilst his Master was ill used. As he had received great bounties from the King, so he sacrificed all he had to his service, as soon as his occasions stood in need of it; and lent his Majesty, at one time, twenty thousand pounds together; and, as soon as the war begun, engaged his three brothers, all gallant gentlemen, in the service; in which they all lost their lives. Himself lived, with unspotted fidelity, some years after the murder of his Master, and was suffered to put him into his grave; and died, without the comfort of seeing the resurrection of the Crown.

Of the  
Marquis of  
Hertford.

The Marquis of Hertford was a man of great honour and fortune, and interest in the affection of the people; and had always undergone hard measure from the Court, where he long received no countenance, and had no design of making advantage from it. For, though he was a man of very good parts, and conversant in books, both in the Latin and Greek languages, and of a clear courage, of which he had given frequent evidence; yet he was so wholly given up to a country life, where he lived in splendour, that he had an aversion, and even an unaptness, for business: besides his particular friendship with the Earl of Essex, whose sister he had married, his greatest acquaintance and conversation had been with those who had the reputation of being best affected to the liberty of the kingdom, and least in love with the humour of the Court; many of whom were the chief of those who engaged themselves most factiously and furiously against the King. But as soon as he discerned their violent purposes against the Government established, before he suspected their blacker designs, he severed himself from them; and, from the beginning of the Parliament, never concurred with them in any one vote dishonourable to the King, or in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford. He did accept the go-

vernment of the Prince of Wales, as is mentioned before, purely out of obedience to the King; and, no doubt, it was a great service; though for the performance of the office of a governor, he never thought himself fit, nor meddled with it. He left York, as is remembered, to form an army for the King in the west, where his interest was; but he found those parts so corrupted, and an army from the Parliament was poured down so soon upon him, that there was nothing for the present to be done worthy of his presence; so that he sent the small party, that was with him, farther west to Cornwall; where, by degrees, they grew able to raise an army, with which they joined with him afterwards again; and himself returned to the King at Oxford, about the time when the treaty begun.

The Earl of Southampton was indeed a great man in all respects, and brought very much reputation to the King's cause. He was of a nature much inclined to melancholy, and being born a younger brother, and his father and his elder brother dying upon the point together, whilst he was but a boy, he was at first much troubled to be called *my Lord*, and with the noise of attendance; so much he then delighted to be alone. He had a great spirit; he had never had any conversation in the Court, nor obligation to it. On the contrary, he had undergone some hardship from it; which made it believed, that he would have been ready to have taken all occasions of being severe towards it. And therefore, in the beginning of the Parliament, no man was more courted by the managers of those designs. He had great dislike of the high courses, which had been taken in the government, and a particular prejudice to the Earl of Strafford, for some exorbitant proceedings. But, as soon as he saw the ways of reverence and duty towards the King declined, and the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford to exceed the limits of justice, he opposed them vigorously in all their proceedings. He was a man of great sharpness of judgment, a very quick apprehension, and that readiness of expression upon any sudden debate, that no man delivered himself more advantageously and

Of the Earl  
of South-  
ampton.



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weightily, and more efficaciously with the hearers; so that no man gave them more trouble in his opposition, or drew so many to a concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependence upon, the Court, or purpose to have any; but wholly pursued the public interest. It was long before he could be prevailed with to be a Counsellor, and longer before he would be admitted to be of the Bedchamber; and received both honours the rather, because, after he had refused to take a protestation, which both Houses had ordered to be taken by all their members, they had likewise voted, "that no man should be capable of any preferment in Church or State, who refused to take the same;" and he would shew how much he contemned those votes. He went with the King to York; was most solicitous, as hath been said, for the offer of peace at Nottingham; and was with him at Edge-hill; and came and stayed with him at Oxford to the end of the war, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards peace; and, as no man was more punctual in performing his own duty, so no man had more melancholy apprehensions of the issue of the war; which is all shall be said of him in this place, there being frequent occasions to mention him, in the continuance of this discourse.

Of the Earl  
of Leicester.

The Earl of Leicester was a man of great parts, very conversant in books, and much addicted to the mathematics; and though he had been a soldier, and commanded a regiment, in the service of the States of the United Provinces, and was afterwards employed in several embassies, as in Denmark and in France, was in truth rather a speculative, than a practical man; and expected a greater certitude in the consultation of business, than the business of this world is capable of: which temper proved very inconvenient to him through the course of his life. He was, after the death of the Earl of Strafford, by the concurrent kindness and esteem both of King and Queen, called from his embassy in France, to be Lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland; and, in a very short time after, unhappily lost that kindness and esteem: and being, about the time of

the King's coming to Oxford, ready to embark at Chester, for the execution of his charge, he was required to attend his Majesty, for farther instructions, at Oxford; where he remained; and though he was of the Council, and sometimes present, he desired not to have any part in the business; and lay under many reproaches and jealousies, which he deserved not: for he was a man of honour, and fidelity to the King, and his greatest misfortunes proceeded from the staggering and irresolution in his nature.

The Earl of Bristol was a man of a grave aspect, of a presence that drew respect, and of long experience in affairs of great importance. He had been, by the extraordinary favour of King James to his person (for he was a very handsome man) and his parts, which were naturally great, and had been improved by good education at home and abroad, sent ambassador into Spain, before he was thirty years of age; and afterwards in several other embassies; and at last, again into Spain; where he treated and concluded the marriage between the Prince of Wales and that Infanta; which was afterwards dissolved. He was by King James made of the Privy Council, Vice-Chamberlain of the household, an Earl, and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince, and was then crushed by the power of the Duke of Buckingham, and the prejudice the Prince himself had contracted against him, during his Highness's being in Spain; upon which he was imprisoned upon his return; and after the Duke's death, the King retained so strict a memory of all that Duke's friendships and displeasures, that the Earl of Bristol could never recover any admission to Court; but lived in the country, in ease, and plenty in his fortune, and in great reputation with all who had not an implicit reverence for the Court; and before, and in the beginning of the Parliament, appeared in the head of all the discontented party; but quickly left them, when they entered upon their unwarrantable violences, and grew so much into their disfavour, that after the King was gone to York, upon some expressions he used in the House of Peers in debate, they committed him to the Tower; from

Of the Earl  
of Bristol.

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whence being released, in two or three days, he made haste to York to the King; who had before restored him to his place in the Council, and the Bedchamber. He was with him at Edge-hill, and came with him from thence to Oxford; and, at the end of the war, went into France; where he died; that party having so great an animosity against him, that they would not suffer him to live in England, nor to compound for his estate, as they suffered others to do, who had done them more hurt. Though he was a man of great parts, and a wise man, yet he had been for the most part single, and by himself, in business; which he managed with good sufficiency; and had lived little in consort, so that in council he was passionate, and supercilious, and did not bear contradiction without much passion, and was too voluminous in discourse; so that he was not considered there with much respect; to the lessening whereof no man contributed more than his son, the Lord Digby; who shortly after came to sit there as Secretary of State, and had not that reverence for his father's wisdom, which his great experience deserved, though he failed not in his piety towards him.

Of the Earl  
of New-  
castle.

The Earl of Newcastle was a person well bred, and of a full and plentiful fortune; and had been chosen by the King to be Governor to the Prince of Wales, and made of the Council, and resigned that office of Governor to the Marquis of Hertford, for the reasons which have been mentioned. He was not at Oxford, but remained at Newcastle, with the King's commission to be General of those parts; being a man of great courage, and signal fidelity to the Crown, of whom there will be more occasion hereafter to enlarge.

Of the Earl  
of Berk-  
shire, and  
others.

The Earl of Berkshire was of the Council, but not yet at Oxford; having been, about or before the setting up of the standard, taken prisoner in Oxfordshire, and committed to the Tower, upon an imagination that he had some purpose to have executed the commission of array in that county; but they afterwards set him at liberty, as a man that could do them no harm any where; and then he came to Oxford,



with the title and pretences of a man, who had been imprisoned for the King, and thereby merited more than his Majesty had to give. His affection for the Crown was good, but his interest little.

The Lord Dunsmore had been made a Privy Counsellor, after so many, who had deserved worse, had been called thither; and was ready to do whatever he was directed: he was a man of a rough and tempestuous nature, violent in pursuing what he wished, without judgment, or temper to know the way of bringing it to pass; however, he had some kind of power with froward and discontented men; at least he had credit to make them more indisposed. But his greatest reputation was, that the Earl of Southampton married his daughter, a beautiful and a worthy lady.

The Lord Seymour, being brother to the Marquis of Hertford, was a man of interest and reputation; he had been always very popular in the country; where he had lived out of the grace of the Court; and his parts and judgment were best in those things which concerned the good husbandry, and the common administration of justice to the people. In the beginning of the Parliament, he served as Knight of the Shire for Wiltshire, where he resided; and behaving himself with less violence in the House of Commons, than many of his old friends did, and having a great friendship for the Earl of Strafford, he was, by his interposition, called to the House of Peers; where he carried himself very well in all things relating to the Crown; and when the King went to York, he left the Parliament, and followed his Majesty, and remained firm in his fidelity.

The Lord Savile was likewise of the Council, being first Controller, and then Treasurer of the household, in recompense of his discovery of all the treasons and conspiracies, after they had taken effect, and could not be punished. He was a man of an ambitious and restless nature; of parts and wit enough; but, in his disposition, and inclination, so false, that he could never be believed, or depended upon. His particular malice to the Earl of Strafford

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ford, which he had sucked in with his milk, (there having always been an immortal feud between the families; and the Earl had shrewdly overborne his father,) had engaged him with all persons who were willing, and like to be able, to do him mischief. And so, having opportunity, when the King was at the Berks, and made the first unhappy pacification, to enter into conversation, and acquaintance, with those who were then employed as commissioners from the Scots, there was a secret intelligence entered into between them from that time; and he was a principal instrument to engage that nation to march into England with an army; which they did the next year after. To which purpose, he sent them a letter, signed with the names of several of the English nobility, inviting them to enter the kingdom, and making great promises of assistance; which names were forged by himself, without the privity of those who were named. And when all this mischief was brought to pass, and he found his credit in the Parliament not so great as other men's, he insinuated himself into credit with somebody, who brought him to the King or Queen, to whom he confessed all he had done to bring in the Scots, and who had conspired with him, and all the secrets he knew, with a thousand protestations "to repair all by future loyalty and service;" for which he was promised a white staff, which the King had then resolved to take from Sir Henry Vane, who held it with the Secretary's office; which he had accordingly; though all his discovery was of no other use, than that the King knew many had been false, whom he could not punish; and some, whom he could not suspect. When the King came to York, where this Lord's fortune and interest lay, his reputation was so low, that the gentlemen of interest, who wished well to the King's service, would not communicate with him; and, after the King's remove from thence, the Earl of Newcastle found cause to have such a jealousy of him, that he thought it necessary to imprison him; and afterwards sent him to Oxford; where he so well purged himself, that he was again restored to his of-

fice. But in the end he behaved himself so ill, that the King put him again out of his place, and committed him to prison, and never after admitted him to his presence; nor would any man of quality ever after keep any correspondence with him.

Of the Lord Falkland, and Sir John Colepepper, there hath been so much said before, that there is no occasion to add to it in this place. There will be reason too soon to lament the unhappy death of the former; and the latter, who never failed in his fidelity, will be very often mentioned throughout the ensuing discourse.

Secretary Nicholas was a very honest and industrious man, and always versed in business; which few of the others were, or had been. After some time spent in the University of Oxford, and then in the Middle Temple, he lived some years in France; and was afterwards Secretary to the Lord Zouch, who was a Privy Counsellor, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; and thereby he understood all that jurisdiction, which is very great, and exclusive to the Admiral. And when that Lord, many years after, surrendered that office to the King, to the end that it might be conferred upon the Duke of Buckingham, his Secretary was likewise preferred with the office; and so, in a short time, became Secretary of the Admiralty, as well as of the Cinque Ports; and was entirely trusted, and esteemed by that great favourite. After his death, he continued in the same place, whilst the office was in commission, and was then made Clerk of the Council, from whence the King called him to be Secretary of State, after Secretary Windbank fled the kingdom; upon his Majesty's own observation of his virtue and fidelity, and without any other recommendation: and he was in truth, throughout his whole life, a person of very good reputation, and of singular integrity.

There remain only two of the Council then at Oxford, who are not yet named, Sir John Banks, who had been Attorney General, and was then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, a grave and a learned man in the profession



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of the law; and Sir Peter Wych, who had been ambassador at Constantinople; from whence he returned very little before the troubles, and gratified Sir Thomas Jermyn very liberally for his white staff, when the Court was very low, and so was made a Privy Counsellor, and Controller of the household. He was a very honest, plain man; and died very shortly after the treaty, and was succeeded by Sir Christopher Hatton, a person of great reputation at that time, which in few years he found a way to diminish.

Of those of  
the Privy  
Counsel-  
lors who  
stayed with  
the Parlia-  
ment.

Of the Earl  
of North-  
umberland.

Of those who were of the King's Council, and who stayed and acted with the Parliament, the Earl of Northumberland may well be reckoned the chief, in respect of the antiquity and splendour of his family, his great fortune and estate, and the general reputation he had among the greatest men, and his great interest, by being High Admiral of England. Though he was of a family, that had lain under frequent blemishes of want of fidelity to the Crown, and his father had been long a prisoner in the Tower, under some suspicion of having some knowledge of the Gunpowder treason; and after he was set at liberty, by the mediation and credit of the Earl of Carlisle, who had, without and against his consent, married his daughter, he continued, to his death, under such a restraint, that he had not liberty to live and reside upon his Northern estate: yet this Lord's father was no sooner dead, than the King poured out his favours upon him in a wonderful measure: he begun with conferring the order of the Garter upon him, and shortly after made him of his Privy Council; when a great fleet of ships was prepared, by which the King meant that his neighbour princes should discern, that he intended to maintain and preserve his sovereignty at sea, he sent the Earl of Northumberland Admiral of that fleet, a much greater than the Crown had put to sea since the death of Queen Elizabeth, that he might breed him for that service, before he gave him a more absolute command. And after he had, in that capacity, exercised himself a year or two, the King made him Lord High Admiral of England; which was such a quick succession of

bounties and favours, as had rarely befallen any man, who had not been attended with the envy of a favourite. He was, in all his deportment, a very great man, and that which looked like formality, was a punctuality in preserving his dignity from the invasion and intrusion of bold men, which no man of that age so well preserved himself from. Though his notions were not large or deep, yet his temper, and reservedness in discourse, and his reservedness in speaking, got him the reputation of an able and a wise man; which he made evident in the excellent government of his family, where no man was more absolutely obeyed; and no man had ever fewer idle words to answer for; and in debates of importance, he always expressed himself very pertinently. If he had thought the King as much above him, as he thought himself above other considerable men, he would have been a good subject; but the extreme undervaluing those, and not enough valuing the King, made him liable to the impressions, which they who approached him by those addresses of reverence and esteem, that usually insinuate into such natures, made in him. So that after he was first prevailed upon, not to do that which in honour and gratitude he was obliged to, (which is a very pestilent corruption,) he was, with the more facility, led to concur in what, in duty and fidelity, he ought not to have done, and which at first he never intended to have done. And so he concurred in all the counsels which produced the rebellion, and stayed with them to support it; which is as much as is necessary to say of him in this place, since there will be often occasion hereafter to mention him, with some enlargement.

The Earl of Pembroke hath been enough mentioned in a better conjuncture of time, when his virtues were thought greater than they were, and his vices very little discerned. Yet, by what was then said, his nature and his parts might be well enough understood; and as neither the one nor the other were improveable, so they were liable to be corrupted by any assaults; his understanding being easy to be imposed upon, and his nature being made up of very

Of the Earl  
of Pem-  
broke.

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strong passions. Whilst there was tranquillity in the kingdom, he enjoyed his full share in pomp and greatness; the largeness and plentifulness of his fortune being attended with reverence and dependence from the people where his estate and interest lay, and where indeed he was a great man; getting an affection and esteem from persons who had no dependence upon him, by his magnificent living, and discoursing highly of justice, and of the Protestant Religion; inveighing bitterly against Popery, and telling what he used to say to the King; and speaking frankly of the oversights of the Court, that he might not be thought a slave to it. He had been bred from his cradle in the Court; and had that perfection of a courtier, that as he was not wary enough in offending men, so he was forward in acknowledging it, even to his inferiors, and to impute it to his passion, and ask pardon for it; which made him be thought a well natured man. Besides, he had an office, which, at that time, entitled him to the exercise of some rudeness, and the good order of the Court had some dependence upon his incivilities.

There were very few great persons in authority, who were not frequently offended by him, by sharp and scandalous discourses, and invectives against them, behind their backs; for which they found it best to receive satisfaction by submissions, and professions, and protestations, which was a coin he was plentifully supplied with for the payment of all those debts; whilst the King retained only some kindness for him, without any great esteem of him. But, from the beginning of the Parliament, when he saw and heard a people stout enough to inveigh against the King's authority, and to fall upon those persons, whom he had always more feared than loved; and found that there were two armies in the kingdom, and that the King had not the entire command of either of them; when the decrees of the Star-Chamber, and the orders and acts of the Council, in all which he had concurred, were called in question, and like to be made penal to those who would not redeem their past errors by future service; his fear,



which was the passion always predominant in him above all his choler and rage, prevailed so far over him, that he gave himself up into the hands of the Lord Say, to dispose of him as he thought fit, till the King took the white staff from him, and gave it to the Earl of Essex, as hath been related at large before.

From this time, he took himself to be absolved from all obligations and dependence upon the Court, which he had lived too long in to be willing to quit; and therefore the more closely adhered to them, by whose power he thought he might get thither again; and, for some time, entertained the hope of obtaining the other superior white staff; which remained then in the King's hand by the departure of the Earl of Arundel into the parts beyond the seas. But when he saw that staff given to the Duke of Richmond, who was then made Lord Steward of the household, he gave over those weak imaginations, and concurred roundly in all the Lord Say proposed; and was so weak still, as to believe they never meant to rebel against the King; or that the King could long subsist, without putting himself into their hands. When they had any thing to do in the West, as the exercise of the militia, or executing any other ordinance, they sent him into the country, and shewed him to the people, under the conduct of two or three members of the House, in whom they could confide; and he talked "of the King's evil counsellors, who carried him from his Parliament; and of the Malig-nants; and against scandalous ministers;" whilst none of his old friends came near him. And when they were resolved no longer to trust the Isle of Wight in the hands of the Earl of Portland, who had been long the King's governor there, and had an absolute power over the affections of that people, they preferred the poor Earl of Pembroke to it, by an ordinance of Parliament; who kindly accepted it, as a testimony of their favour; and so got into actual rebellion, which he never intended to do. It is pity to say more of him, and less could not be said to make him known.

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Of the Earl  
of Essex.

The Earl of Essex hath been enough mentioned before; his nature and his understanding have been described; his former disobligations from the Court, and then his introduction into it, and afterwards his being displaced from the office he held in it, have been set forth; and there will be occasion, hereafter, to renew the discourse of him; and therefore it shall suffice, in this place, to say, that a weak judgment, and some vanity, and much pride, will hurry a man into as unwarrantable and as violent attempts, as the greatest, and most unlimited, and insatiable ambition will do. He had no ambition of title, or office, or preferment, but only to be kindly looked upon, and kindly spoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own fortune: and, without doubt, no man in his nature more abhorred rebellion than he did, nor could he have been led into it by any open or transparent temptation, but by a thousand disguises and cozenages. His pride supplied his want of ambition, and he was angry to see any other man more respected than himself, because he thought he deserved it more, and did better requite it. For he was, in his friendships, just and constant; and would not have practised foully against those he took to be enemies. No man had credit enough with him to corrupt him in point of loyalty to the King, whilst he thought himself wise enough to know what treason was. But the new doctrine, and distinction of allegiance, and of the King's power in and out of Parliament, and the new notions of ordinances, were too hard for him, and did really intoxicate his understanding, and made him quit his own, to follow theirs, who, he thought, wished as well, and judged better than himself. His vanity disposed him to be his Excellency; and his weakness, to believe that he should be the general in the Houses, as well as in the field; and be able to govern their counsels, and restrain their passions, as well as to fight their battles; and that, by this means, he should become the preserver, and not the destroyer, of the King and kingdom. With this ill-grounded confidence, he launched out into that sea, where he met with nothing but rocks

and shelves, and from whence he could never discover any safe port to harbour in.

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The Earl of Salisbury had been born and bred in Court, and had the advantage of a descent from a father, and a grandfather, who had been very wise men, and great ministers of state in the eyes of Christendom; whose wisdom and virtues died with them, and their children only inherited their titles. He had been admitted of the Council to King James; from which time he continued so obsequious to the Court, that he never failed in overacting all that he was required to do. No act of power was ever proposed, which he did not advance, and execute his part with the utmost rigour. No man so great a tyrant in his country, or was less swayed by any motives of justice or honour. He was a man of no words, except in hunting and hawking. In matters of state and council, he always concurred in what was proposed for the King, and cancelled and repaired all those transgressions, by concurring in all that was proposed against him, as soon as any such propositions were made. Yet when the King went to York, he likewise attended upon his Majesty; and, at that distance, seemed to have recovered some courage, and concurred in all counsels which were taken to undeceive the people, and to make the proceedings of the Parliament odious to all the world. But, on a sudden, he caused his horses to attend him out of the town, and having placed fresh ones at a distance, he fled back to London, with the expedition such men use, when they are most afraid; and never after denied to do any thing that was required of him; and when the war was ended, and Cromwell had put down the House of Peers, he got himself to be chosen a member of the House of Commons; and sat with them, as of their own body; and was esteemed accordingly.

Of the Earl  
of Salis-  
bury.

The Earl of Warwick was of the King's Council too, but was not wondered at for leaving the King, whom he had never well served; nor did he look upon himself as obliged by that honour, which, he knew, was conferred upon him in the crowd of those whom his Majesty had no

Of the Earl  
of War-  
wick.



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esteem of, or ever proposed to trust; so his business was to join with those to whom he owed his promotion. He was a man of a pleasant and companionable wit and conversation; of an universal jollity; and such a licence in his words, and in his actions, that a man of less virtue could not be found out: so that one might reasonably have believed, that a man so qualified would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a nation and kingdom. But, with all these faults, he had great authority and credit with that people, who, in the beginning of the troubles, did all the mischief; and by opening his doors, and making his house the rendezvous of all the silenced ministers, in the time when there was authority to silence them, and spending a good part of his estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being present with them at their devotions, and making himself merry with them, and at them, which they dispensed with, he became the head of that party; and got the style of a godly man. When the King revoked the Earl of Northumberland's commission of Admiral, he presently accepted the office from the Parliament; and never quitted their service; and when Cromwell disbanded that Parliament, he betook himself to the protection of the Protector; married his heir to his daughter; and lived in so entire a confidence and friendship with him, that, when the Protector died, he exceedingly lamented him. He left his estate, which before was subject to a vast debt, more improved and repaired, than any man who trafficked in that desperate commodity of rebellion.

Of the Earl  
of Holland.

The Earl of Holland had grown up under the shadow of the Court, and had been too long a Counsellor before, and contributed too much to the counsels which had most prejudiced the Crown, to have declined waiting upon it, when it needed attendance. But he chose to stay with the Parliament; and there hath been enough said of him before, and more must be said hereafter. And therefore it shall suffice now, to say, that there was a very froward fate attended all, or most of the posterity of that bed, from

whence he and his brother of Warwick had their original; though he, and some others among them, had many very good parts, and excellent endowments. BOOK  
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The Earl of Manchester, of the whole cabal, was, in a thousand respects, most unfit for the company he kept. He was of a gentle and a generous nature; civilly bred; had reverence and affection for the person of the King, upon whom he had attended in Spain; loved his country with too unskilful a tenderness; and was of so excellent a temper and disposition, that the barbarous times, and the rough parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out, or much deface, those marks: insomuch as he was never guilty of any rudeness towards those he was obliged to oppress, but performed always as good offices towards his old friends, and all other persons, as the iniquity of the time, and the nature of the employment he was in, would permit him to do; which kind of humanity could be imputed to very few. Of the Earl  
of Man-  
chester.

He was at last dismissed, and removed from any trust, for no other reason, but because he was not wicked enough. He married first into the family of the Duke of Buckingham, and, by his favour and interest, was called to the House of Peers in the life of his father; and made Baron of Kimbolton, though he was commonly treated and known by the name of the Lord Mandevile; and was as much addicted to the service of the Court as he ought to be. But the death of his lady, and the murder of that great favourite, his second marriage with the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and the very narrow and restrained maintenance, which he received from his father, and which would in no degree defray the expences of the Court, forced him too soon to retire to a country life, and totally to abandon both the Court and London; whither he came very seldom in many years. And in this retirement, the discountenance which his father underwent at Court, the conversation of that family into which he was married, the bewitching popularity, which flowed upon him with a wonderful torrent, and the want of those guards which a

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good education should have supplied him with, by the clear notion of the foundation of the ecclesiastical, as well as the civil government, made a great impression upon his understanding, (for his nature was never corrupted, but remained still in its integrity,) and made him believe that the Court was inclined to hurt, and even to destroy the country; and from particular instances to make general and dangerous conclusions. They who had been always enemies to the Church prevailed with him to lessen his reverence for it, and having not been well instructed to defend it, he yielded too easily to those who confidently assaulted it; and thought it had great errors, which were necessary to be reformed; and that all means are lawful to compass that which is necessary. Whereas the true logic is, that the thing desired is not necessary, if the ways are unlawful, which are proposed to bring it to pass. No man was courted with more application, by persons of all conditions and qualities; and his person was not less acceptable to those of steady and uncorrupted principles, than to those of depraved inclinations. And in the end, even his piety administered some excuse to him; for his father's infirmities and transgressions had so far exposed him to the inquisition of justice, that the son found it necessary to procure the assistance and protection of those who were strong enough to violate justice itself; and so he adhered to those who were best able to defend his father's honour, and thereby to secure his own fortune; and concurred with them in their most violent designs, and gave reputation to them. And the Court as unskilfully took an occasion too soon to make him desperate, by accusing him of high treason, when (though he might be guilty enough) he was, without doubt, in his intentions, at least, as innocent as any of the leading men.

It is some evidence, that God Almighty saw his heart was not so malicious as the rest, that he preserved him to the end of the confusion; when he appeared as glad of the King's restoration, and had heartily wished it long before, and very few, who had a hand in the contrivance of the re-



bellion, gave so manifest tokens of repentance as he did; and having, for many years, undergone the jealousy and hatred of Cromwell, as one who abominated the murder of the King, and all the barbarous proceedings against the lives of men in cold blood; the King upon his return received him into grace and favour, which he never after forfeited by any undutiful behaviour.

The last of those Counsellors which were made after the faction prevailed in Parliament, who were all made to advance an accommodation, and who adhered to the Parliament, was the Lord Say; a man, who had the deepest hand in the original contrivance of all the calamities which befel this unhappy kingdom, though he had not the least thought of dissolving the monarchy, and less of levelling the ranks and distinctions of men. For no man valued himself more upon his title, or had more ambition to make it greater, and to raise his fortune, which was but moderate for his title. He was of a proud, morose, and sullen nature; conversed much with books, having been bred a scholar, and (though nobly born) a fellow of New College in Oxford; to which he claimed a right, by the alliance he pretended to have from William of Wickham, the founder; which he made good by a far-fetched pedigree, through so many hundred years, half the time whereof extinguishes all relation of kindred. However upon that pretence, that College hath been seldom without one of that Lord's family. His parts were not quick, but so much above many of his own rank, that he had always great credit and authority in Parliament; and the more, for taking all opportunities to oppose the Court; and he had, with his milk, sucked in an implacable malice against the government of the Church. When the Duke of Buckingham proposed to himself, after his return with the Prince from Spain, to make himself popular, by breaking that match, and to be gracious with the Parliament, as for a short time he was, he resolved to embrace the friendship of the Lord Say; who was as solicitous to climb by that ladder. But the Duke quickly found him

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Of the  
Lord Say.

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of too imperious and pedantical a spirit, and to affect too dangerous mutations ; and so cast him off ; and from that time he gave over any pursuit in Court, and lived narrowly in the country ; having conversation with very few, but such who had great malignity against the Church and State, and fomented their inclinations, and gave them instructions how to behave themselves with caution, and to do their business with most security ; and was in truth the pilot, that steered all those vessels which were freighted with sedition to destroy the government.

He found always some way to make professions of duty to the King, and made several undertakings to do great services, which he could not, or would not, make good ; and made haste to possess himself of any preferment he could compass, whilst his friends were content to attend a more proper conjuncture. So he got the Mastership of the Wards shortly after the beginning of the Parliament, and was as solicitous to be Treasurer after the death of the Earl of Bedford ; and, if he could have satisfied his rancour in any degree against the Church, he would have been ready to have carried the prerogative as high as ever it was. When he thought there was mischief enough done, he would have stopped the current, and have diverted farther fury ; but he then found he had only authority and credit to do hurt ; none to heal the wounds he had given ; and fell into as much contempt with those whom he had led, as he was with those whom he had undone.

Of Sir  
Henry  
Vane the  
elder.

The last of the Counsellors who stayed with the Parliament, was Sir Henry Vane ; who had so much excuse for it, that, being thrown out of Court, he had no whither else to go ; and promised himself to be much made of by them, for whose sakes only he had brought that infamy upon himself. He was of very ordinary parts by nature, and had not cultivated them at all by art ; for he was illiterate. But being of a stirring and boisterous disposition, very industrious, and very bold, he still wrought himself into some employment. He had been acquainted with the

vicissitudes of Court, and had undergone some severe mortification, by the disfavour of the Duke of Buckingham, in the beginning of the King's reign. But the Duke was no sooner dead, (which made it believed that he had made his peace in his lifetime, for the King was not, in a long time after, reconciled to any man who was eminently in the Duke's disfavour,) but he was again brought into the Court, and made a Counsellor, and Controller of the household; which place he became well, and was fit for; and if he had never taken other preferment, he might probably have continued a good subject. For he had not inclination to change, and in his judgment he had liked the government both of Church and State; and only desired to raise his fortune, which was not great, and which he found many ways to improve. And he was wont to say, "that he never had desired other preferment; "and believed, that Marquis Hamilton," (with whom he had never kept fair quarter,) "when he first proposed to "him to be Secretary of State, did it to affront him; well "knowing his want of ability for the discharge of that office." But, without doubt, as the fatal preferring him to that place was of unspeakable prejudice to the King, so his receiving it was to his own destruction. His malice to the Earl of Strafford (who had unwisely provoked him, wantonly, and out of contempt) transported him to all imaginable thoughts of revenge; which is a guest, that naturally disquiets and tortures those who entertain it, with all the perplexities they contrive for others; and that disposed him to sacrifice his honour and faith, and his Master's interest, that he might ruin the Earl, and was buried himself in the same ruin; for which being justly chastised by the King, and turned out of his service, he was left to his own despair; and, though he concurred in all the malicious designs against the King, and against the Church, he grew into the hatred and contempt of those who had made most use of him; and died in universal reproach, and not contemned more by any of his enemies.



**BOOK** than by his own son ; who had been his principal conduc-  
**VI.** tor to destruction.

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We now pass to the transactions in the treaty itself, which was in the beginning of the year 1643.

THE END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION, &c.

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MIC. iii. 11.

*The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us? none evil can come upon us.*

MIC. vii. 4.

*The best of them is as a brier; the most upright is sharper than a thorn-hedge: the day of thy watchmen and thy visitation cometh; now shall be their perplexity.*

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WHEN the treaty was first consented to by the two Houses, they ordered that it should be upon the first proposition made by his Majesty, and the first proposition made by themselves, and that those should be first concluded on, before they proceeded to treat upon any of the other propositions. So that the committee, in the first place, applied themselves to his Majesty, upon his own first proposition, which was, "That his own revenue, magazines, towns, forts, and ships, which had been taken, or kept from him by force, should be forthwith restored

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The sum of the demands and concessions of both sides upon the first article of the treaty.

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“to him.” To which the committee answered, “That the two Houses had made use of his Majesty’s own revenue, but in a very small proportion, which in a good part had been employed in the maintenance of his children, according to the allowance established by himself. And the Houses would satisfy what should remain due to his Majesty of those sums, which they had received; and would leave the same to him for the time to come. And they desired likewise, that his Majesty would restore what had been taken for his use, upon any of the bills, assigned to other purposes by several acts of Parliament, or out of the provision made for the war of Ireland: that all the arms and ammunition taken out of his magazines should be delivered into his stores, and whatsoever should be wanting, they would supply in kind, according to the proportions they had received: but they proposed, the persons, to whose charge those public magazines should be committed, being nominated by his Majesty, might be such, as the two Houses of Parliament might confide in, and that his Majesty would restore all such arms and ammunition, as had been taken for his use, from the several counties, cities, and towns.

“That the two Houses would remove the garrisons out of all towns and forts in their hands, wherein there were no garrisons before these troubles, and slight all fortifications made since that time, and those towns and forts to continue in the same condition they were in before; and that those garrisons should not be renewed, or the fortifications repaired, without consent of his Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament. That the towns and forts, which were within the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports, should be delivered into the hands of such a noble person, as the King should appoint to be War-den of the Cinque Ports, being such a one as they should confide in. That Portsmouth should be reduced to the number of the garrison, as was at that time when the Lords and Commons undertook the custody of it; and that all other forts, castles, and towns, in which



“garrisons had been kept, and had been since the beginning of these troubles taken into their care and custody, should be reduced to the same establishment they had in the year 1636, and should be so continued; and that all those towns, forts, and castles, should be delivered up into the hands of such persons of quality and trust, to be likewise nominated by his Majesty, as the two Houses should confide in. That the Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all governors and commanders of towns, castles, and forts, should keep the same towns, castles, and forts, respectively, for the service of his Majesty, and the safety of the kingdom; and that they should not admit into them any foreign forces, or any other forces raised without his Majesty’s authority, and consent of the two Houses of Parliament; and they should use their utmost endeavour to suppress all forces whatsoever raised without such authority and consent; and they should seize all arms and ammunition provided for any such forces.

“They likewise proposed to the King, that he would remove the garrison out of Newcastle, and all other towns, castles, and forts, where any garrisons had been placed by him since these troubles; and that the fortifications might be likewise slighted, and the towns and forts left in such state as they were in the year 1636; and that all other towns and castles in his hands, wherein there had been formerly garrisons, might be committed to such persons nominated by him, as the Houses should confide in, and under such instructions as were formerly mentioned; and that the new garrisons should not be renewed, or the fortifications repaired, without the consent of the King and both Houses of Parliament. That the ships should be delivered into the charge of such a noble person, as the King should nominate to be Lord High Admiral of England, and the two Houses confide in; who should receive that office by letters patents, *quam diu se bene gesserit*, and should have power to nominate and appoint all subordinate commanders and officers, and

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“ have all other powers appertaining to the office of High Admiral; which ships he should employ for the defence of the kingdom, against all foreign forces whatsoever, and for the safeguard of merchants, securing of trade, and the guarding of Ireland, and the intercepting of all supplies to be carried to the rebels; and should use his utmost endeavours to suppress all forces, which should be raised by any person without his Majesty’s authority, and consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and should seize all arms and ammunition provided for supply of any such forces.”

To this answer, by which they required at least to go whole sharers with him in his sovereignty, the King replied, “ That he knew not what proportion of his revenue had been made use of by his two Houses, but he had reason to believe, if much of it had not been used, very much remained still in their hands; his whole revenue being so stopped, and seized on, by the orders of one or both Houses, even to the taking of his money out of his Exchequer and Mint, and bonds (forced from his Cofferer’s Clerk) for the provisions of his household; that very little had come to his use for his own support; but he would be well contented to allow whatsoever had been employed in the maintenance of his children, and to receive the arrears due to himself, and to be sure of his own for the future. He was likewise willing to restore all monies taken for his use, by any authority from him, upon any bills assigned to other purposes, being assured he had received very little or nothing that way: and he expected likewise, that satisfaction should be made by them for all those several vast sums, received, and diverted to other purposes, by orders of one or both Houses, which ought to have been paid by the Act of Pacification to his subjects of Scotland, or employed for the discharge of the debts of the kingdom; or, by other acts of Parliament, for the relief of his poor Protestant subjects in Ireland. For what concerned his magazines, he was content that all the arms and ammunition, taken

“ out of his magazines, which did remain in the hands of  
“ both Houses, or of persons employed by them, should  
“ be, as soon as the treaty was concluded, delivered into  
“ the Tower of London; and that whatsoever should be  
“ wanting of the proportions taken by them, should be  
“ supplied by them, with all convenient speed, in kind;  
“ which, he said, should be committed to, and continued  
“ in, the custody of the sworn officers, to whose places the  
“ same belonged: and if any of those officers had already  
“ forfeited, or hereafter should forfeit, that trust, by any  
“ misdemeanors, his Majesty would by no means defend  
“ them from the justice of the law. That he always in-  
“ tended to restore such arms and ammunition, which he  
“ had been compelled to take from any persons and places,  
“ when his own had been taken from him; and would  
“ make them recompense as soon as his own stores were  
“ restored to him.

“ To whatsoever they proposed for the slighting all for-  
“ tifications, and reducing all garrisons, which had been  
“ made since the beginning of the troubles, and leaving  
“ them in the state they were before, the King fully and  
“ absolutely consented; and that the old castles and gar-  
“ risons should be reduced to their ancient proportion and  
“ establishment: but for the governors and commanders  
“ of them, he said, that the Cinque Ports were already in  
“ the custody of a noble person, against whom he knew no  
“ just exception, and who had such a legal interest therein,  
“ that he could not, with justice, remove him from it, until  
“ some sufficient cause were made appear to him: but he  
“ was very willing, if he should at any time be found guilty  
“ of any thing that might make him unworthy of that  
“ trust, that he might be proceeded against according to  
“ the rules of justice. That the government of the town  
“ of Portsmouth, and all other forts, castles, and towns, as  
“ were formerly kept by garrisons, should be put into the  
“ hands of such persons, against whom no just exceptions  
“ could be made; all of them being, before these troubles,  
“ by letters patents granted to several persons, against any



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“ of whom he knew not any exceptions who should be removed, if just cause should be given for the same. “ The Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all other governors and commanders of the towns and castles, should keep their charges, as by the law they ought to do, and for the King’s service, and safety of the kingdom; and they should not admit into any of them foreign forces, or other forces raised, or brought into them contrary to the law; but should use their utmost endeavours to suppress such forces, and should seize all arms and ammunition, which, by the laws and statutes of the kingdom, they ought to seize.”

To that part which concerned the ships, the King told them, “ That he expected his own ships should be delivered to him, as by the law they ought to be; and that when he should think fit to nominate a Lord High Admiral of England, it should be such a person against whom no just exception could be made; and if any should be, he would always leave him to his due trial and examination; and he would grant his office to him by such letters patents, as had been used. In the mean time he would govern the Admiralty by commission, as had been in all times accustomed; and whatsoever ships should be set out by him, or his authority, should be employed for the defence of the kingdom against all foreign forces whatsoever, for the safeguard of merchants, securing of trade, guarding of Ireland, and the intercepting of all supplies to be carried to the rebels; and they should use their utmost endeavours to suppress all forces, which should be raised, by any person whatsoever, against the laws and statutes of the kingdom, and to seize all arms and ammunition provided for the supply of any such forces.”

It is evident to all men where the difference now lay between them, being whether the King would reserve the disposal of those offices and places of trust to himself, which all kings had enjoyed, and was indeed a part of his regality, or whether he would be content with such a nomination, as, being to pass, and depend upon their

approbation, no man should ever be admitted to them, who was nominated by him. The committee, upon his Majesty's answer, desired to know, "whether he did intend, that both Houses should express their confidence of the persons, to whose trust those places were to be committed; for that they were directed by their instructions, that, if his Majesty was pleased to assent thereunto, and to nominate persons of quality to receive the charge of them, that they should certify it to both Houses of Parliament, that thereupon they might express their confidence in those persons, or humbly desire his Majesty to name others, none of which persons to be removed during three years next ensuing, without just cause to be approved by both Houses; and if any should be so removed, or die within that space, the persons, to be put in their places, to be such as the two Houses should confide in." The King answered, "That he did not intend, that the Houses should express their confidence of the persons, to whose trusts those places should be committed, but only that they should have liberty, upon any just exception, to proceed against any such persons according to law; his Majesty being resolved not to protect them against the public justice. When any of the places should be void, he well knew the nomination, and free election, of those who should succeed, to be a right belonging to and inherent in his Majesty; and having been enjoyed by all his royal progenitors, he could not believe his well affected subjects desired to limit him in that right; and desired they would be satisfied with this answer, or give him any reasons to alter his resolution, and he would comply with them."

They told him, "there could be no good and firm peace hoped for, if there were not a cure found out for the fears and jealousies; and they knew none sure, but this which they had proposed." The King replied, "That he rather expected reasons grounded upon law, to have shewed him, by the law, that he had not that right he

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“pretended, or that they had a right superior to his, in  
“what was now in question; or that they would have  
“shewed him some legal reason, why the persons trusted  
“by him were incapable of such a trust; than that they  
“would only have insisted upon fears and jealousies, of  
“which as he knew no ground, so he must be ignorant of  
“the cure. That the argument they used might extend  
“to the depriving him of, or at least sharing with him in,  
“all his just regal power; since power, as well as forces,  
“might be the object of fears and jealousies, and there  
“would be always a power left to hurt, whilst there was  
“any left to protect and defend.” He told them, “If he  
“had as much inclination, as he had more right, to fears  
“and jealousies, he might with more reason have insisted  
“upon an addition of power, as a security to enable him  
“to keep his forts, when he had them, since it appeared it  
“was not so great, but that they had been able to take  
“them from him, than they to make any difficulty to re-  
“store them to him in the same case they were before.  
“But, he said, as he was himself content with, so, he took  
“God to witness, his greatest desire was, to observe al-  
“ways and maintain the law of the land; and expected  
“the same from his subjects; and believed the mutual  
“observance of that rule, and neither of them to fear what  
“the law feared not, to be, on both parts, a better cure  
“for that dangerous disease of fears and jealousies, and a  
“better means to establish a happy and perpetual peace,  
“than for him to divest himself of those trusts, which the  
“law of the land had settled in the Crown alone, to pre-  
“serve the power and dignity of the Prince, for the better  
“protection of the subject, and of the law, and to avoid  
“those dangerous distractions, which the interest of any  
“sharers with him would have infallibly produced.”

The committee neither offered to answer his Majesty's reasons, nor to oppose other reasons to weigh against them; but only said, “That they were commanded by  
“their instructions, to insist upon the desires of both  
“Houses formerly expressed.” To which the King made



no other answer, "than that he conceived it all the justice  
"in the world for him to insist, that what was by law his  
"own, and had been contrary to law taken from him,  
"should be fully restored to him, without conditioning to  
"impose any new limitations upon him, or his ministers,  
"which were not formerly required from them by the law ;  
"and he thought it most unreasonable, to be pressed to  
"diminish his own just rights himself, because others had  
"violated and usurped them." This was the sum of what  
passed in the treaty upon that proposition.

To the first proposition of the two Houses, "That his  
"Majesty would be pleased to disband his armies, as they  
"likewise would be ready to disband all their forces, which  
"they had raised, and that he would be pleased to return  
"to his Parliament;" the King answered, "That he was  
"as ready and willing that all armies should be disbanded,  
"as any person whatsoever; and conceived the best way  
"to it, would be a happy and speedy conclusion of the  
"present treaty; which, if both Houses would contribute  
"as much as he would do to it, would be suddenly effected.  
"And as he desired nothing more than to be with his two  
"Houses, so he would repair thither as soon as he could  
"possibly do it with his honour and safety."

The committee asked him, "if by a happy and speedy  
"conclusion of the present treaty, he intended a conclu-  
"sion upon the two first propositions, or a conclusion of  
"the treaty in all the propositions of both parts." The  
King, who well knew it would be very ungracious to deny  
the disbanding of the armies, till all the propositions were  
agreed, some whereof would require much time, answered,  
"That he intended such a conclusion of, or in the treaty,  
"as there might be a clear evidence to himself, and his  
"subjects, of a future peace, and no ground left for the  
"continuance or growth of those bloody dissensions;  
"which, he doubted not, might be obtained, if both  
"Houses would consent that the treaty should proceed  
"without farther interruption, or limitation of days."  
They asked him, "What he intended should be a clear

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“evidence to him, and his good subjects, of a future peace, and no ground left for the continuance and growth of those bloody dissensions?” His Majesty told them, “If the conclusion of the present treaty upon his first proposition, and the first proposition of both Houses, should be so full, and perfectly made, that the law of the land might have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the rights of his Majesty, and of themselves, and the rest of his subjects, there would be thence a clear evidence to him, and all men, of a future peace; and it would be such a conclusion as he intended, never meaning that both armies should remain undisbanded until the propositions on both sides were fully concluded.” To the other clause of their own proposition concerning the King’s return to the Parliament, they said, “they had no instructions to treat upon it;” which the King much wondered at; and finding that they had no other authority to treat, or debate what was necessary to be done in order to disbanding, but only to press him to appoint a day for the actual disbanding; and that the forces in the North, where he had a great army, and they had none, might be first disbanded, he endeavoured to draw them to some propositions upon his return to the Parliament; from whence expedients would naturally result, if they pursued that heartily, which would conclude a general peace. And it seemed very strange, that, after so many discourses of the King’s absence from the Houses, from whence they had taught the people to believe that most of the present evils flowed and proceeded, when a treaty was now entered upon, and that was a part of their own first proposition, that their committee should have no instructions or authority to treat upon it. After this, they received new instructions, “to declare to his Majesty the desire of both Houses, for his coming to his Parliament; which, they said, they had often expressed with full offers of security to his royal person, agreeable to their duty and allegiance, and they knew no cause why he might not repair

“thither with honour and safety.” When the King found he could not engage them in that argument to make any particular overture, or invitation to him; and that the committee, who expressed willingness enough, had not in truth the least power to promote, or contribute to, an accommodation, lest they should make the people believe, that he had a desire to continue the war, because he consented not to their proposition of disbanding the armies, he sent this message, by an express of his own, to the two Houses, after he had first communicated it to their committee.

*Oxford, April 12th, 1643.*

“To shew to the whole world, how earnestly his Majesty longs for peace, and that no success shall make him desire the continuance of his army to any other end, or for any longer time, than that, and until, things may be so settled, as that the law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the rights of his Majesty, both Houses, and his good subjects :

His Majesty's message to the two Houses of April 12, 1643.

1. “As soon as his Majesty is satisfied in his first proposition, concerning his own revenue, magazines, ships, and forts, in which he desires nothing, but that the just, known, legal rights of his Majesty, (devolved to him from his progenitors,) and of the persons trusted by him, which have violently been taken from both, be restored unto him, and unto them; unless any just and legal exception against any of the persons trusted by him (which are yet unknown to his Majesty) can be made appear to him :

2. “As soon as all the members of both Houses shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting and voting in Parliament, as they had upon the first of January 1641; the same, of right, belonging unto them by their birth-rights, and the free election of those that sent them; and having been voted from them for adhering to his Majesty in these distractions; his Majesty not intending



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“ that this should extend either to the Bishops, whose  
“ votes have been taken away by bill, or to such, in whose  
“ places, upon new writs, new elections have been made :

3. “ As soon as his Majesty, and both Houses, may be  
“ secured from such tumultuous assemblies, as to the  
“ great breach of the privileges, and the high dishonour  
“ of Parliaments, have formerly assembled about both  
“ Houses, and awed the members of the same ; and occa-  
“ sioned two several complaints from the Lords’ House,  
“ and two several desires of that House to the House of  
“ Commons, to join in a declaration against them ; the  
“ complying with which desire might have prevented all  
“ these miserable distractions, which have ensued ; which  
“ security, his Majesty conceives, can be only settled by  
“ adjourning the Parliament to some other place, at the  
“ least twenty miles from London, the choice of which his  
“ Majesty leaves to both Houses :

“ His Majesty will most cheerfully and readily consent,  
“ that both armies be immediately disbanded, and give a  
“ present meeting to both his Houses of Parliament at  
“ the time and place, at and to which the Parliament shall  
“ be agreed to be adjourned : his Majesty being most con-  
“ fident, that the law will then recover due credit and es-  
“ timation ; and that upon a free debate, in a full and  
“ peaceable convention of Parliament, such provisions will  
“ be made against seditious preaching, and printing  
“ against his Majesty, and the established laws, which  
“ have been one of the chief causes of the present distrac-  
“ tions, and such care will be taken concerning the legal  
“ and known rights of his Majesty, and the property and  
“ liberty of his subjects, that whatsoever hath been pub-  
“ lished, or done, in or by colour of any illegal declaration,  
“ ordinance, or order of one or both Houses, or any com-  
“ mittee of either of them, and particularly the power to  
“ raise arms without his Majesty’s consent, will be in such  
“ manner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against, that  
“ no seed will remain for the like to spring out of for the  
“ future, to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and to en-

“ danger the very being of it. And in such a convention  
“ his Majesty is resolved, by his readiness to consent to  
“ whatsoever shall be proposed to him, by bill, for the real  
“ good of his subjects, (and particularly for the better dis-  
“ covery and speedier conviction of Recusants; for the  
“ education of the children of Papists by Protestants in  
“ the Protestant religion; for the prevention of practices  
“ of Papists against the State; and the due execution of  
“ the laws, and true levying of the penalties against them,)  
“ to make known to all the world, how causeless those  
“ fears and jealousies have been, which have been raised  
“ against him; and by that so distracted this miserable  
“ kingdom. And if this offer of his Majesty be not con-  
“ sented to, (in which he asks nothing for which there is  
“ not apparent justice on his side, and in which he defers  
“ many things highly concerning both himself and people,  
“ till a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, which  
“ in justice he might now require,) his Majesty is confi-  
“ dent, that it will then appear to all the world, not only  
“ who is most desirous of peace, and whose fault it is that  
“ both armies are not now disbanded; but who have been  
“ the true and first cause, that this peace was ever inter-  
“ rupted, or those armies raised; and the beginning or  
“ continuance of the war, and the destruction and deso-  
“ lation of this poor kingdom (which is too likely to  
“ ensue) will not, by the most interested, passionate, or  
“ prejudicate person, be imputed to his Majesty.”

To this message the two Houses returned no answer to the King, but required the committee to return to Westminster (having been in Oxford with his Majesty just twenty days) with such positive circumstances, that the House of Commons enjoined their members to begin their journey the same day; which they obeyed; though it was so late, that they were forced to very inconvenient accommodations; and at their return, some of them were looked upon with great jealousy, as persons engaged by the King, and disinclined to the Parliament; and this jealousy prevailed so far, that Mr. Martin opened a letter

**BOOK** from the Earl of Northumberland to his own lady, pre-  
**VII.** suming he should therein have discovered some combina-  

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tion; and this insolence was not disliked.

Many were of opinion, that the King was too severe in this treaty, and insisted too much upon what is his own by right and law; and that if he would have distributed offices and places liberally to particular men, which had been a condescension in policy to be submitted to, he might have been repossessed of his own power. And I have heard this alleged by many, who at that time were extremely violent against all such artifices. The committee themselves (who at that time perfectly abhorred the proceedings of the Parliament, or rather the power and superiority of the Earl of Essex) seemed exceedingly desirous of such an accommodation, as all good men desired; and to believe, that if the King would have condescended so far, as to nominate the Earl of Northumberland to be Lord High Admiral, that it would have made so great a division in the Houses, that the treaty would have been continued, and his Majesty been satisfied in all the other propositions. And the Earl of Northumberland, to private friends, did make as full professions of future service to his Majesty, and as ample recognitions of past errors and mistakes, as could reasonably be expected from a wary nature, before he could be sure what reception such professions and vows would find. But the King thought the power and interest of that committee would be able to do little, if it could not prevail for the enlarging the time of the treaty, in which they seemed heartily to engage themselves. And he was resolved at least to have a probable assurance of the conclusion, before he would offer such concessions, as taking no effect might prove prejudicial to him: as particularly, the nominating the Earl of Northumberland to be Admiral (though he would willingly have done it, as the price and pledge of an honourable peace) would have discontented all who had, how unreasonably soever, promised themselves that preferment; and many would have imputed it to an unseasonable easiness,



(from which imputation it concerned the King, at that time, as much to purge himself, as of unmercifulness and revenge,) upon promises and hopes, to have readmitted a man to a charge and trust, he had so fatally betrayed and broken, against as solemn promises and obligations, at the least, as he could now enter into; and therefore it concerned the King to be sure of some advantage, in lieu of this visible hazard.

I am one of those, who do believe that this obligation, at this time, laid upon the Earl of Northumberland, with such other circumstances of kindness as would have been fit to accompany it, would have met real gratitude and faithfulness in him, (for as, originally, he had, I am persuaded, no evil purposes against the King; so he had now sufficient disdain and indignation against those who got him to tread their ways, when he had not their ends,) and that it would have made some rent and division in the two Houses, (which could not but have produced some benefit to the King,) and that it might probably have procured some few days' addition for the continuance of the treaty; the avowed ground of denying it being, because the King had not, in the least degree, consented to any one thing proposed by them: but, I confess, I cannot entertain any imagination, that it would have produced a peace, or given the King any advantage, or benefit in the war: what inconvenience it might have produced hath been touched before. For, besides that the stirring and active party, who carried on the war, were neither gracious to the Earl of Northumberland, nor he to them, their favourite at sea being then the Earl of Warwick, who had the possession of the fleet, and whom alone they believed fit to be trusted with the navy; whoever calls to mind what was done in the Houses, during the time of the treaty, and by their directions; that by their own authority they directed all the lands of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, to be sequestered, and inhibited their tenants to pay any rent to them; that, under pretence of searching for arms, and taking away superstitious pictures, they

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caused the Queen's Chapel at Somerset-House (where she was to exercise her devotion, if they ever meant she should return again to London) to be most licentiously rifled; in which licence with impunity, her lodgings were plundered, and all her furniture and goods of value taken away and embezzled; that there was an order made in the House of Commons, when they sent their messengers every day to Oxford without any formality, or control, "that whatsoever person should come from Oxford, or any part of the King's army, to London, or the parts adjacent, without the warrant of both Houses of Parliament, or of the Lord General the Earl of Essex, he should be apprehended as a spy and intelligencer, and be proceeded against according to the rules and grounds of war:" by virtue of which order of the House of Commons only, and without any communication that notice might be taken of it, a servant of the King's, for discharging the duty of his place, was executed; which shall be anon remembered; all which, except the execution of that man, was transacted during the time of the treaty at Oxford.

Whosoever remembers the other proposition upon which the treaty was founded, and the bills then presented to the King for his royal assent; that there was no unreasonable thing demanded in the nineteen propositions, which was not comprehended in these fourteen, and many additions made, that were not in the former; that they demanded the total abolition and extirpation of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, and the whole frame of the government of the Church; and another bill for the calling an Assembly of Divines, nominated by themselves, (which was a presumption, as contrary to the policy and government of the kingdom, as the most extravagant act they had done,) consisting of persons the most deeply engaged in the most unwarrantable acts that had been done; and yet his Majesty was required to promise to pass such other bills for settling of church-government, as, upon consultation with that Assembly of Divines, should be resolved on

by both Houses of Parliament: that all the other bills then presented to the King for his royal assent, and insisted on by their fourth proposition, though they had specious and popular titles, contained many clauses in them contrary to common equity, and the right of the subject, and introduced proceedings very different from the known justice of the kingdom; and therefore, besides the time and circumstances of the passing those acts, (when the nation was in blood,) not like to meet with his Majesty's approbation; I say, whosoever remembers and considers all this, (to say nothing of the limitations by which their committee were bound, without any power of debating, or other capacity than to deliver the resolutions of the two Houses, and to receive the King's answer, which might as effectually have been done by any one single ordinary messenger,) cannot, I conceive, believe, that the King's consenting to make any one person among them High Admiral of England, would have been a means to have restored the kingdom to a present peace, and the King to his just rights and authority. And if all these considerations be not sufficient to render that supposition improbable, that, which follows next in order of story, will abundantly confute it.

On Saturday the 15th of April, which was the very day on which the treaty expired at Oxford, being the last of the twenty days which were first assigned, and to which no importunity of the King's could procure an addition, the Earl of Essex marched with his whole army from Windsor, and sat down before Reading; which preparation would not have been so exactly made, and the resolution so punctually taken, if they had meant any reasonable concessions from the King should have frustrated that vast charge, and determined all farther contentions. The Earl had never before been in the head of so gallant an army, which consisted of about sixteen thousand foot, and above three thousand horse, in as good an equipage, and supplied with all things necessary for a siege, as could be expected from an enemy which knew no wants, and

The Earl of  
Essex  
marches to  
besiege  
Reading  
April 15,  
being the  
last day of  
the treaty.



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had the command of the Tower of London, and all other stores of the kingdom. In the town were above three thousand foot, and a regiment of horse consisting of near three hundred; the fortifications were very mean to endure a formed siege, being made only to secure a winter quarter, and never intended for a standing garrison. And it is very true, that it was resolved at a council of war at Oxford, "that before the end of April," (before which time it was conceived the enemy would not adventure to take the field,) "Sir Arthur Aston should slight those " works, and draw off his garrison to the King;" and that which made it less able to bear a siege, than the weakness of their works, was their want of ammunition; for they had not forty barrels of powder; which could have held a brisk and a daring enemy but a short time. And as this defect proceeded not from want of foresight, so it was not capable of being supplied, at least in that proportion as was worthy the name of a supply. For the King had no port to friend, by which he could bring ammunition to Oxford; neither had he been yet able to set up any manufacture for any considerable supply. So that what he brought up with him after the battle of Edge-hill, which was the remainder of the four hundred barrels brought by the ship called the Providence, before the setting up of his standard, had served for all his expeditions, being distributed into the several garrisons; and was still to furnish all his growing occasions; and that magazine now at Reading (which was no greater than is before mentioned) was yet double to what was in any other place, Oxford only excepted; wherein, at this time, there was not above one hundred barrels of powder, and in no one place match proportionable to that little powder: and this defect is wholly to be imputed to the lowness and straitness of the King's condition; for there was no want of industry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to prevent and supply it.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the town looked upon the enemy with courage and contempt enough; and,

to say the truth, both officers and soldiers were as good, as in the infancy of a war could be expected; and they had no apprehension of want of victual, with which they were abundantly stored. The soldiers without were, for the most part, newly levied, and few of their officers acquainted with the way and order of assaulting towns; and this was the first siege that happened in England. Upon the first sitting down before it, after they had taken a full view of the ground, their General advised with his council of war, in what manner he should proceed, whether by assault or approach; in which there was great diversity of opinions. "The works were weak; the number of the "assailants sufficient; all materials in readiness; they believed the soldiers in the town full of apprehensions, and "a very considerable party of the inhabitants disaffected "to the garrison, who in the time of a storm would be "able to beget a great distraction. They might be able to "storm it in so many places at once, that the number of "the soldiers within would not be able to defend all; and "if they prevailed in any one, their whole body of horse "might enter, and be immediately masters of the town: "if they prevailed this way, their army would have that "reputation, and carry that terror with it, that no power "of the King's would hereafter be able to abide it; but "they might march over the kingdom, and subdue every "part of it: whereas if they delayed their work, and proceeded by way of approach, those in the town would recover heart, and, after they had digested the present "fears and apprehensions, contemn their danger; and "their own soldiers, who were yet fresh and vigorous, "would every day abate in courage, and their numbers "in a few weeks lessen as much by sickness and duty, "as they should probably do by an assault." On the other hand it was objected, "that the army consisted "most of new levies," (and in truth there were not, of all that gallant army that was at Edge-hill, among the foot, three thousand men,) "who would be hardly brought to "begin upon so desperate service; that it was the only

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“ army the Parliament had, upon which all their hopes  
“ and welfare depended; and if in the spring it should re-  
“ ceive an eminent foil, they would not recover their cou-  
“ rage again all the summer. That they were not only to  
“ look upon the taking of Reading, but, pursuing that in  
“ a reasonable way, to keep themselves in a posture and  
“ condition to end the war by a battle with all the King’s  
“ forces; which would no doubt apply themselves to their  
“ relief; and no place under heaven could be so commo-  
“ dious for them to try their fortune in, as that. Whereas  
“ if they should hastily engage themselves upon an assault,  
“ and receive a repulse, and should be afterwards forced  
“ to rise to fight with the King, they should never make  
“ their men stand; and then their cause was lost.” As  
for the danger of sickness among the soldiers, who were  
not acquainted with hardship, it was urged, “ that though  
“ it were earlier in the year than the armies usually  
“ marched into the field, yet they had much better accom-  
“ modation and provision than armies use to have; their  
“ horse (to whom that time of the year is commonly most  
“ hazardous, through the want of forage) being plentifully  
“ provided for with hay and oats by the benefit of the  
“ river, and all supplies being sent for the foot out of  
“ London.”

And in truth it is hardly credible what vast quantities (besides the provisions made in a very regular way by the commissioners) of excellent victual ready dressed were every day sent in waggons and carts from London to the army, upon the voluntary contributions from private families, according to their affections to the good work in hand; the common people being persuaded, that the taking of Reading would destroy all the King’s hopes of an army, and that it would be taken in very few days. Upon these arguments and debates, (in which all these reasons were considered on both sides,) the major part of the council inclined, and with that the General complied, to pursue the business by approach. It was reported, that the officers of horse in the council were all for a storm,



and the foot officers for approaching. The chief care and oversight of the approaches was committed to Philip Skippon, a man often mentioned in the first part of this history, who had been an old officer, and of good experience in the Low Countries, and was now made Serjeant-Major-General of the army, by the absolute power of the two Houses, and without the cheerful concurrence of the Earl of Essex; though Sir John Merrick, who had executed that place by his Lordship's choice from the beginning, was preferred to be General of the ordnance.

The approaches advanced very fast, the ground being in all places as fit for that work as could be, and the town lying so low, that they had easily raised many batteries, from whence they shot their cannon into the town at a near distance, but without any considerable execution; there being fewer lost by that service than will be believed, and but one man of note, Lieutenant Colonel D'Ews, a young man of notable courage and vivacity, who had his leg shot off by a cannon bullet, of which he speedily and very cheerfully died. From the town there were frequent sallies with good success; and very many soldiers, and some officers, of the enemy were killed; more, hurt; who were sent to hospitals near London; and those that were sent to London, as many cart-loads were, were brought in the night, and disposed with great secrecy, that the citizens might take no notice of it: the stratagems of this kind are too ridiculous to be particularly set down, though pursued then with great industry, insomuch as some were punished for reporting that there were many soldiers killed and hurt before Reading; and it was a mark of malignity to believe those reports; so unfit the people were to be trusted with all truths.

Within a week after the beginning of the siege, Sir Arthur Aston the Governor being in a court of guard near the line which was nearest to the enemy's approaches, a cannon shot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, which was covered with brick-tile, a piece whereof, the shot going through, hit the Governor in the head, and made that

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impression upon him, that his senses shortly failed him, so that he was not only disabled afterwards from executing in his own person, but incompetent for counsel or direction ; so that the chief command was devolved to Colonel Richard Fielding, who was the eldest Colonel of the garrison. This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the King, for there was not in his army an officer of greater reputation, and of whom the enemy had a greater dread. The next night after this accident, but before it was known at Oxford, a party from thence under the command of Mr. Wilmot, the Lieutenant General of the horse, without any signal opposition, put in a supply of powder, and a regiment of five hundred foot into the town, and received advertisement from thence of the Governor's hurt, and that they must expect to be relieved within a week, beyond which time they should not be able to hold out. How ill the King was provided for such an expedition, will best appear by remembering how his forces were then scattered, and the present posture he was then in at Oxford.

The nimble and the successful marches of Sir William Waller, whom we left triumphing in Wales, after his strange surprise of the Lord Herbert's forces near Gloucester, caused the King to send Prince Maurice with a strong party of horse and dragoons to attend him, who moved from place to place with as great success as speed, after his success at Hynam ; and to make the shame of those officers the less, with the spirit of victory doubled upon him, he came before Hereford, a town very well affected, and reasonably well fortified, having a strong stone wall about it, and some cannon, and there being in it some soldiers of good reputation, and many gentlemen of honour and quality ; and three or four hundred soldiers, besides the inhabitants well armed ; yet, without the loss of one man on either side, to the admiration of all who then heard it, or have ever since heard of it, he persuaded them

Sir William  
Waller  
takes Here-  
ford :

fairly to give up the town, and yield themselves prisoners upon quarter ; which they did, and were presently by him sent for their better security to Bristol.

From thence he marched to Worcester, where his conquests met some stop; for though the town was not so strong, nor the garrison so great, (I mean of soldiers; for the inhabitants were more,) as Hereford, nor one officer in it of more experience than he had gotten this unhappy war, the inhabitants had the courage to resolve not to admit any summons or messenger from him; and when his drum, against all signs made to him from the walls not to approach, did notwithstanding refuse to return without delivering his message, they shot at him, and killed him; and when Sir William Waller himself, to revenge that affront, marched with his whole body towards them, (there being only an old gate, without bridge or work, before it, to hinder his entrance into the town, they entertained him so roughly, that he was forced to retire with the loss of some officers, and about twenty common men; after which, his men having not been accustomed to such usage, he got over the Severn again, and, with quick night marches, so avoided Prince Maurice, (who took no less pains to meet with him,) that with some few light skirmishes, in which he received small loss, he carried his party safe, and full of reputation, through Gloucester to the Earl of Essex's army before Reading; himself being sent for to London, upon a design that must be hereafter mentioned.

comes before Worcester: is repulsed:

The great want at Oxford (if any one particular might deserve that style, where all necessary things were wanted) was ammunition; and the only hope of supply was from the North; yet the passage from thence so dangerous, that a party little inferior in strength to an army was necessary to convey it; for, though the Earl of Newcastle, at that time, was master of the field in Yorkshire, yet the enemy was much superior in all the counties between that county and Oxford; and had planted many garrisons so near all the roads, that the most private messengers travelled with great hazard, three being intercepted for one that escaped. To clear these obstructions, and not without the design of guarding and waiting on the Queen to



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Prince  
Rupert  
marches to-  
wards the  
North:

Oxford, if her Majesty were ready for that journey, at least to secure a necessary supply of powder, Prince Rupert resolved in person to march towards the North, and about the beginning of April (the treaty being then at Oxford, and there being hopes that it would have produced a good effect, at least that the Earl of Essex would not have taken the field till May) his Highness, with a party of twelve hundred horse and dragoons, and six or seven hundred foot, marched towards Litchfield; which if he could reduce, and settle there a garrison for the King, lay most convenient for that northern communication; and would with it dissolve other little adjacent holds of the enemy's, which contributed much to their interruption. In his way thither, he was to march through Bromicham, a town in Warwickshire before mentioned, and of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected disloyalty to the King, as any place in England. It is before remembered, that the King in his march from Shrewsbury, notwithstanding the eminent malignity of that people, had shewed as eminent compassion to them; not giving way that they should suffer by the undistinguishing licence of the soldier, or by the severity of his own justice; which clemency of his found so unequal a return, that, the next day after his remove thence, the inhabitants of that place seized on his carriages, wherein were his own plate and furniture, and conveyed them to Warwick castle; and had from that time, with unusual industry and vigilance, apprehended all messengers who were employed, or suspected to be so, in the King's service; and though it was never made a garrison by direction of the Parliament, being built in such a form, as was indeed hardly capable of being fortified, yet they had so great a desire to distinguish themselves from the King's good subjects, that they cast up little slight works at both ends of the town, and barricadoed the rest, and voluntarily engaged themselves not to admit any intercourse with the King's forces.

In this posture Prince Rupert now found them, having in the town with them at that time a troop of horse, be-

longing to the garrison of Litchfield, which was grown to that strength, that it infested those parts exceedingly ; and would in a short time have extended itself to a powerful jurisdiction. His Highness hardly believing it possible, that, when they should discover his power, they would offer to make resistance, and being unwilling to receive interruption in his more important design, sent his Quarter Masters thither to take up his lodging ; and to assure them, “ that if they behaved themselves peaceably, they should “ not suffer for what was past : ” but they had not consciences good enough to believe him, and absolutely refused to let him quarter in the town ; and from their little works, with mettle equal to their malice, they discharged their shot upon him ; but they were quickly overpowered, and some parts of the town being fired, they were not able to contend with both enemies ; and, distracted between both, suffered the assailant to enter without much loss ; who took not that vengeance upon them they deserved, but made them expiate their transgressions with paying a less mulct than might have been expected from their wealth, if their wickedness had been less.

takes Bro-  
micham,

In the entrance of this town, and in the too eager pursuit of that loose troop of horse that was in it, the Earl of Denbigh (who from the beginning of the war, with unwearied pains, and exact submission to discipline and order, had been a volunteer in Prince Rupert's troop, and been engaged with singular courage in all enterprises of danger) was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the head and body with swords and poll-axes ; of which, within two or three days, he died. Had it not been for this ill accident, (and to remember the dismal inequality of this contention, in which always some Earl, or person of great honour or fortune, fell, when, after the most signal victory over the other side, there was seldom lost a man of any known family, or of other reputation, than of passion for the cause in which he fell,) I should not have mentioned an action of so little moment, as was this of Bromicham : which I shall yet enlarge with the remembrance

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of a clergyman, who was here killed at the entering of the town, after he had not only refused quarter, but provoked the soldier by the most odious revilings and reproaches of the person and honour of the King, that can be imagined, and renouncing all allegiance to him; in whose pockets were found several papers of memorials of his own obscene and scurrilous behaviour with several women, in such loose expressions, as modest ears cannot endure. This man was the principal governor and incendiary of the rude people of that place against their Sovereign. So full a qualification was a heightened measure of malice and disloyalty for this service, that it weighed down the infamy of any other lewd and vicious behaviour.

From Bromicham, the Prince, without longer stay than to remove two or three slight garrisons in the way, which made very little resistance, marched to Litchfield, and easily possessed himself of the town, which lay open to all comers; but the close (containing the cathedral church and all the clergymen's houses) was strongly fortified, and resolved against him. The wall, about which there was a broad and deep moat, was so thick and strong, that no battery the Prince could raise would make any impression; the Governor, one Colonel Rouswell, very resolute; and the garrison of such men as were most transported with superstition to the cause in which they engaged, and in number equal to the ground they were to keep, and their provisions ample for a longer time than it was fit the Prince should stay before it. So that it was believed, when his Highness had in vain endeavoured to procure it by treaty, he would not have engaged before it; for his strength consisted, upon the matter, wholly in horse; his foot and dragoons being an inconsiderable force for such an attempt. But whether the difficulties were not thoroughly discerned and weighed at first, or whether the importance of the place was thought so great, that it was worth an equal hazard and adventure, he resolved not to move till he had tried the uttermost; and, to that purpose, drew what addition of force he could out of the country, to strengthen his



handful of foot; and persuaded many officers and volunteers of the horse to alight, and bear their parts in the duty; with which they cheerfully and gallantly complied; and in less than ten days he had drawn the moat dry, and prepared two bridges for the graff. The besieged omitted nothing that could be performed by vigilant and bold men; and killed and wounded many of the besiegers; and disappointed and spoiled one mine they had prepared. In the end, early in the morning, the Prince having prepared all things in readiness for the assault, he sprung another mine; which succeeded according to wish, and made a breach of twenty foot in the wall, in a place least suspected by those within; yet they defended it with all possible courage and resolution, and killed and hurt very many; some, officers of prime quality; whereof the Lord Digby, Colonel Gerrard, Colonel Wagstaffe, and Major Leg, were the chief of the wounded; and when they had entered the breach, they continued the dispute so fiercely within, (the narrowness of the breach, and the ascent, not suffering many to enter together, and no horse being able to get over,) that after they had killed Colonel Usher, and some other good officers, and taken others prisoners, (for both Colonel Wagstaffe and William Leg were in their hands,) they compelled the Prince to consent to very honourable conditions; which he readily yielded to, as thinking himself a gainer by the bargain. And so the garrison marched out with fair respect, and the Prince's testimony of their having made a courageous defence; his Highness being very glad of his conquest, though the purchase had shrewdly shaken his troops, and robbed him of many officers and soldiers he much valued. At this time, either the day before or the day after this action, Prince Rupert received a positive order from the King, "to make all possible haste, "with all the strength he had, and all he could draw together from those parts, to the relief of Reading;" which was in the danger we but now left it. Upon which his Highness, committing the government of Litchfield to Colonel Baggot, a son of a good and powerful family in

and Litchfield, and returns to the King.

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that county, and appointing his troops to make what haste was possible after him, himself with a few servants came to Oxford to attend the King, whom he found gone towards Reading.

The importunity from that garrison for relief was so peremptory, and the concernment so great in their preservation, that the King found it would not bear the necessary delay of Prince Rupert's returning with his forces; and therefore his Majesty in person, with those horse and foot which he could speedily draw together, leaving very few behind him in Oxford, or in any other garrison, advanced towards Reading; hoping, and that was the utmost of his hope, that he might, with the assistance of the garrison, be able to force one quarter, and so draw out his men; and by the advantage of those rivers which divided the enemy, and by the passes, be able to retire to Oxford; for being joined, he could not have equalled one half of the enemy's army. When the King drew near the town, the day being passed whereon they had been promised, or had promised themselves, relief, he was encountered by a party of the enemy, which defended their post, who being quickly seconded by supplies of horse and foot from all their quarters, after a very sharp conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the King's party, commanded by the Earl of Forth himself, (the General,) consisting of near one thousand musketeers, were forced to retire to their body; which they did the sooner, because those of the town made no semblance of endeavouring to join with them; which was what they principally relied upon. The reason of that was, the garrison, not seeing their relief coming, had sent for a parley to the enemy, which was agreed to, with a truce for so many hours, upon which hostages were delivered; and a treaty begun, when the King came to relieve it. Upon the view of the enemy's strength and intrenchment, all were of opinion that the small forces of the King would not be able to raise the siege, or to join with those in the town; and in this melancholic conclusion his Majesty retired for the

present, resolving to make any other reasonable attempt the next day. In the mean time, some soldiers found means to escape out of the town, and Colonel Fielding himself in the night came to the King, and told him the state they were in; and “that they were in treaty, and “believed he might have very good conditions, and liberty “to march away with all their arms and baggage;” which was so welcome news, that the King bid him, Prince Rupert being then present, “that, if he could procure such “conditions, he should accept them:” for indeed the men and the arms were all that the King desired, the loss of either of which was like to prove fatal to him. The King continued still at Nettlebeck, a village seven or eight miles distant from Reading, to attend the success of the treaty; resolving, if it succeeded not, to try the utmost again for their redemption: but all men praying heartily for liberty to march off upon the treaty, the next day these articles were agreed on.

1. “That the governor, commanders, and soldiers, both “horse and foot, might march out with flying colours, “arms, and four pieces of ordnance, ammunition, bag and “baggage, light match, bullet in mouth, drums beating, “and trumpets sounding.

Reading  
surrendered upon  
articles,  
April 27.

2. “That they might have free passage to his Majesty’s “city of Oxford, without interruption of any of the forces “under the command of his Excellency the Earl of Essex; provided the said governor, commanders, and soldiers, use no hostility until they come to Oxford.

3. “That what persons were accidentally come to the “town, and shut up by the siege, might have liberty to “pass without interruption; such persons only excepted, “as had run away from the army under the command of “the Earl of Essex.

4. “That they shall have fifty carriages for baggage, “sick, and hurt men.

5. “That the inhabitants of the town of Reading “should not be prejudiced in their estates, or persons, “either by plundering or imprisonment; and that they



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“who would leave the town, might have free leave, and  
“passage, safely to go to what place they would, with  
“their goods, within the space of six weeks after the sur-  
“render of the town.

6. “That the garrison should quit the town by twelve  
“of the clock the next morning; and that the Earl of  
“Essex should provide a guard for the security of the  
“garrison soldiers, when they begun to march.”

Upon these articles, signed by the Earl of Essex, the town was delivered on the 27th day of April, (being within a fortnight after the siege begun,) and the garrison marched to the King, who stayed for them, and with him to Oxford. But at their coming out of the town, and passing through the enemy's guards, the soldiers were not only reviled, and reproachfully used, but many of them disarmed, and most of the waggons plundered, in the presence of the Earl of Essex himself, and the chief officers; who seemed to be offended at it, and not to be able to prevent it; the unruliness of the common men being so great. As this breach of the articles was very notorious and inexcusable, so it was made the rise, foundation, and excuse for barbarous injustice of the same kind throughout the greatest part of the war; insomuch as the King's soldiers afterward, when it was their part to be precise in the observation of agreements, mutinously remembered the violation at Reading, and thereupon exercised the same licence; from thence, either side having somewhat to object to the other, the requisite honesty and justice of observing conditions was mutually, as it were by agreement, for a long time after violated.

There had been, in the secret committee for the carrying on the war, forming those designs, and administering to the expences thereof, a long debate with great difference of opinion, whether they should not march directly with their army to besiege Oxford, where the King and the Court was, rather than Reading; and if they had taken that resolution, as Mr. Hambden, and all they who desired still to strike at the root, very earnestly insisted

upon, without doubt they had put the King's affairs into great confusion. For, besides that Oxford was not tolerably fortified, nor the garrison well provided for, the court, and multitude of nobility, and ladies, and gentry, with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of alarm very ill. But others, who did not yet think their army well enough composed to resist all temptations, nor enough subdued in their inclinations to loyalty, and reverence towards the person of the King, had no mind it should besiege the very place where the King himself was; and the Earl of Essex himself, who was yet the soul of the army, had no mind to that enterprise: and so the army marched, as hath been said, directly to Reading, with the success that is mentioned.

Though, at the instant, the Parliament was highly pleased with the getting the town, and the King as well contented, when he saw his entire garrison safely joined to the rest of his army, (for it cannot be denied the joy was universal through the King's quarters, upon the assurance, that they had recovered near four thousand good men, whom they had given for lost,) yet, according to the vicissitudes in war, when the accounts are cast up, either party grew quickly dissatisfied with its success. The King was no sooner returned to Oxford, but, upon conference between the officers and soldiers, there grew a whisper, "that there had not been fair carriage, and that Reading had been betrayed," and from thence made a noise through Oxford; and the very next day, and at the same time, Colonel Fielding, upon whom the discourses reflected, came to the King to desire, "that an account might be taken of the whole business at a council of war for his vindication;" and the common soldiers, in a disorderly manner, "to require justice against him for betraying and delivering up the town to the rebels;" which they avowed with so much confidence, with the mention of some particulars, "as the having frequent intercourse with the Earl of Essex, and hindering and forbidding the soldiers to issue out of the town to join

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Colonel  
Fielding  
ordered to  
be tried for  
the sur-  
render.

“ with the King, when he came to relieve them, although  
“ their officers had drawn them up to that purpose, and  
“ were ready to lead them;” and the like; with some  
rash and passionate words disrespectful to his Majesty; so  
that he gave present order for his commitment, and trial  
at a court of war; the King himself being marvellously  
incensed against him, for that clause in the third article,  
which gave liberty to all who were accidentally come to  
the town, and shut up by the siege, to pass without inter-  
ruption, wherein there was an exception of such persons  
who had run away from the Earl of Essex’s army, and by  
virtue of that exception some soldiers were taken after the  
rendering of the town, and were executed. And though  
the Colonel excused himself, “ as being no more con-  
“ cerned to answer for the articles, than every member of  
“ the council of war, by which they were agreed;” yet it  
was alleged, “ that the council of war had been induced to  
“ consent to those articles, upon the Colonel’s averment,  
“ that the King had seen them, and approved of them.”  
Whereas his Majesty had never seen any articles in writ-  
ing, but only consented, that they should march away  
with their arms and baggage, if the enemy agreed to those  
conditions. I have not known the King more afflicted,  
than he was with that clause, which he called no less  
“ than giving up those poor men, who, out of conscience  
“ of their rebellion, had betaken themselves to his protec-  
“ tion, to be massacred and murdered by the rebels, whom  
“ they had deserted;” and, for the vindication of himself  
therein, he immediately published a proclamation, in  
which he took notice of that clause; and declared to all  
the world,

“ That he was not privy to, or, in the least degree, con-  
“ senting to that exception, but held the same most pre-  
“ judicial to his service, and derogatory to his honour;  
“ and that he would always choose to run any hazard or  
“ danger, the violence or treason of his enemies could  
“ threaten, or bring upon him, rather than he would with-  
“ draw or deny his protection to any, who, being con-



“vinced in their conscience of their disloyalty, should re-  
“turn to their duty, and betake themselves to his service.  
“And as he had referred to a court of war the full exa-  
“mination of all the particular proceedings, in the deli-  
“very of that town, that justice might be done accord-  
“ingly; so he did declare, that he would always proceed  
“with all severity against such, as should, by the like dis-  
“honourable conditions, expose his subjects, and bereave  
“them of his protection that had returned to their obedi-  
“ence to him.”

At the trial, it was objected against the Colonel, “that  
“the town might have been longer defended, there being  
“want of no necessary provision, and as much powder, at  
“the giving it up, as there was when the enemy came  
“first before it; for, besides the first supply, sixteen  
“barrels were put in during the skirmish, when the King  
“came to relieve it: that several colonels pressed very  
“earnestly to sally, when the King’s forces were engaged,  
“and that they were expressly hindered and forbidden by  
“him: that he frequently gave his pass to a woman to go  
“out of the town, who went into the Earl of Essex’s  
“army, and returned again: that he persuaded the coun-  
“cil of war to consent to the articles, by protesting that  
“the King had well approved them, and reproached those  
“officers who were of another opinion;” with some other  
particulars of licence and passion, which reflected more  
upon his discretion, than his honesty, or conduct.

He justified himself “to have done nothing towards the  
“delivery of the place, but upon full consideration, ad-  
“vice, and approbation of the council of war: that he  
“was in his own conscience and judgment satisfied, that  
“the substance of the articles were advantageous for his  
“Majesty’s service; and though it was true, by that last  
“supply of ammunition, their store was near as much as  
“when the siege begun; yet it was in all but thirty-two  
“barrels, which would have lasted but few hours, if the  
“enemy, who had approached within little more than  
“pistol-shot of some parts of their works, should attack

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“ them in that manner as they had reason to expect; and  
“ if they had held out longer, when it had appeared that  
“ the King was not strong enough to relieve them, they  
“ should not have been admitted to such conditions: and  
“ therefore, that he believed a hazard of so great a con-  
“ cernment was not to be run, when he well knew his  
“ Majesty’s former resolution of slighting the garrison;  
“ and that it would not be now done above a fortnight  
“ sooner than was intended: that he had no knowledge of  
“ his Majesty’s approach, till the forces were engaged,  
“ when a truce was concluded, and their hostages in the  
“ enemy’s hands; and therefore, that he conceived it  
“ against the law of arms to make any attempt from the  
“ town; and before they could sufficiently deliberate it in  
“ council, his Majesty’s forces retired: that the woman,  
“ to whom he gave a pass, was one he often employed as  
“ a spy, with very good effect; and he did believe, the  
“ advantage he received by it was greater than she could  
“ carry to the enemy by any information she could give:  
“ that he did persuade the council of war to consent to  
“ the conditions, because he believed them very profitable  
“ to his Majesty, and he had averred only his Majesty’s  
“ approbation of the general substance of the articles,  
“ never applied it to the clause of the third article, which  
“ he much desired to have altered, but could not obtain  
“ the consent of the enemy. If he had been intemperate,  
“ or passionate to any, who were of another opinion, or  
“ had used any passionate expressions in the debate, it  
“ proceeded only from his zeal to the service, and his ap-  
“ prehension of the loss of so many good men, upon  
“ whom he well knew the King much depended: that he  
“ might have committed many indiscretions, for which he  
“ desired pardon, but had not failed in point of fidelity:  
“ that, by the unfortunate hart of the Governor, the com-  
“ mand was devolved upon him by his right of seniority,  
“ not any ambitious design of his own: that he had,  
“ from time to time, acquainted Sir Arthur Aston with  
“ the state and condition they were in; and though his

“indisposition of health was such, that he would not give positive orders, he seemed to approve of all that was done; and though, for the former reason, he refused to sign the articles, yet they were read to him, and he expressed no dislike of them.” The truth of it is, Sir Arthur Aston was believed by many, not to be in so incompetent a condition to command as he pretended; and that albeit his head was so much swoln, that he might not in person venture upon any execution, yet his understanding, or senses, were not much distempered, or discomposed; and that he only positively waved meddling, out of dislike of the condition they were in. And it is true, that, when he came to Oxford, he could speak as reasonably of any matter, as ever I knew him before, or after.

Notwithstanding all the defence the Colonel could make for himself, and that there was not indeed any colour of proof, that he had acted any thing treacherously, he was, upon an article “for not obeying orders,” (for in this agitation he had received some such, which he had not precisely observed,) “sentenced to lose his head;” which judgment, after long and great intercession, was, in the end, remitted by the King; but his regiment disposed to another; and he never restored to that command. And though he had been always before of an unblemished reputation for honesty and courage, and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the troubles, and been hurt in the service, and he appeared afterwards as a volunteer, with the same courage, in the most perilous actions, and obtained a principal command in another of the King’s armies, he never recovered the misfortune and blemish of this imputation. And yet I must profess for my part, being no stranger to what was then alleged and proved on either party, I do believe him to have been free from any base compliance with the enemy, or any cowardly declension of what was reasonable to be attempted. So fatal are all misfortunes, and so difficult a thing it is to play an after-game of reputation, in that nice and jealous profession.



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The inconveniences and mischiefs, that resulted to the King from this accident, were greater than were at that time taken notice of; for from this, the factions in court, army, and city (which afterwards grew very troublesome to the King) were dated, and took their original; great animosities grew between the officers of the army; some being thought to have been too passionate and solicitous in the prosecution of the Colonel, and too much to have countenanced the rage and fury of common soldiers in demanding justice on their officer; for from such a kind of clamour it begun. Others again were as much condemned for a palpable avowed protection of him, thereby to shew their power, that a person they favoured should not suffer; and of both these, some were more violent than they should have been; which several inclinations equally possessed the Court, some believing that he was really guilty of treachery, though not so clearly proved; and therefore that, being within the mercy of the law, upon another article, no mercy ought to be shewed to him; others as really supposing him innocent, and therefore thinking it great pity, severely to take the forfeiture, upon such a point, as few officers of the army did not know themselves guilty in: these supposing the former too full of rigour and uncharitableness; and they again accusing the other of too much lenity and indulgence; whilst many gentlemen of honour and quality, whose fortunes were embarked with the King, grew extremely jealous, that the Parliament had corrupted some of the King's officers with rewards, and that others had power to protect them from punishment and discovery; and the soldiers again as much incensed, that their lives must be sacrificed, upon casual and accidental trespasses, to the animosity and jealousy of those who run not the same dangers with them.

But these indispositions and distempers were the effects of the exigents of that time, (I wish the humours had been impaired when the times mended,) and very many, who saw the King's condition very low in an instant, and believed the rebels to be most flourishing, would look no

farther for a reason, than the loss of Reading; though they had all still, but the town; which was never intended to be kept. It is most certain, that the King himself was so far from believing the condition he was in to be tolerable, that, upon the news of the Earl of Essex's advance towards Oxford, within four or five days after the loss of Reading, he once resolved, and that by the advice of the chief officers of his army, to march away towards the north, to join with the Earl of Newcastle. And if the Earl of Essex had, at that time, but made any shew of moving with his whole body that way, I do verily persuade myself, Oxford itself, and all the other garrisons of those parts, had been quitted to them; but those fears were quickly composed, by an assurance of the Earl's stay at Reading; and that he was not in a posture for a present march, and that his numbers had been shrewdly lessened by the siege: whereupon the King resolved to abide him, and give him battle about Oxford, if he advanced; and, in the mean time, encamped his foot upon the down, about a mile from Abingdon; which was the head quarter for his horse.

When the season of the year grew ripe for taking the field, the Earl of Essex found that his too early march had nothing advanced his affairs; the soldiers having performed so strict duty, and lodging upon the ground, in frost and rain, before Reading, had produced great sickness and diseases in his army, which had wasted abundance of his men; so that he wanted rather another winter quarter to recover and recruit his men, than an opportunity to engage them in action; which he found would be too often administered. He sent daily importunities to the Parliament for supplies of all kinds, which they were not enough furnished with to satisfy him; new divisions and animosities arose there, to perplex their counsels. Their triumph upon the taking of Reading, which they had celebrated with loud festivity, and made the city believe, that all those benefits would attend it, which they knew would be most grateful to them, appeared now without any fruit;

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the King had all his forces and army entire, and had only lost a town that he never meant to keep, and which they knew not what to do with; and was now ready to come into the field, when theirs was destitute of health, and all those accommodations, which must enable them to march: and their General every day reiterated his complaints, and reproached them with the unskilful orders they had sent him, by which, against all the advice and arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that extremity.

The disrespectful and absurd breaking off the treaty with the King was urged by their commissioners; who thought themselves disobliged by it, and published the King's gracious disposition, and the temper of the council in Oxford, to be different from what the Parliament desired it should be believed. They complained of jealousies which had been entertained of their integrity; and the Earl of Northumberland, having discovered, as is said before, that Harry Martin had opened a letter, which he had writ from Oxford to his lady, took him aside, after a conference in the Painted Chamber between the two Houses, and questioned him upon it; and the other giving him some rude answers in justification of what he had done, the Earl cudgelled him in that presence; upon which many swords were drawn, to the great reproach and scandal of the Parliament.

These and the like instances of distraction and confusion brought the reputation of that party low; and made it looked upon, as like to destroy itself without an enemy; whilst the King's party, at that distance, seemed to be more united, and to have recovered their spirits, of which they received frequent evidence by the news of some of their quarters being beat up, and many of their men lost by the unexpected incursions of the King's horse; whereof some parties, by night marches, and unusual lanes, went often near London, and took many prisoners, who thought themselves secure, in their houses, and in journeys they made; who were put to ransom themselves with good sums of money: so that, after all those mountains of pro-



mises, and undertakings, the wants were greater, and the city more importuned for money, and the Parliament visibly more necessitated for want of it, than they had been before; and instead of dispersing the King's army, and bringing the King back to his Parliament, a sudden direction was given, and a vigorous execution of that direction was begun, to draw a line about the cities of London and Westminster, and to fortify it; lest the King's forces might break in upon them; which made the people suspect the state of their affairs to be worse than in truth it was; yet so far were they from any thoughts of peace and accommodation, that the House of Commons raged more furiously than ever; and every day engaged themselves in conclusions more monstrous, than they had yet entered upon. For the supply of the charge of the war, they proposed settling and imposing an excise upon such commodities as might best bear it; which was a burden the people of England had hitherto reproached other nations with, as a mark of slavery, and never feared by themselves; and for the exercise of the sovereign power, they resolved it fit to make a new Great Seal, to be always resident with the Houses. But the Lords were not yet arrived at that presumption, but plainly refused to concur with them in either.

Whilst both armies lay quiet, the one about Reading, the other about Abingdon, or Oxford, without attempting one upon the other, or any action, save some small enterprises by parties, (in which the King got advantage; as particularly the young Earl of Northampton fortunately encountered a party of horse and foot from Northampton, which thought themselves strong enough to attempt upon Banbury: but he having routed their horse, killed above two hundred of their foot, and took as many more prisoners, most whereof were shrewdly hurt, the young Earl that day sacrificing to the memory of his father,) the King received from the Earl of Newcastle, by a strong party of horse, a good and ample supply of ammunition; the want whereof all men looked upon with great horror. As soon

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as this was arrived, and the King had heard that his armies, both in the North and West, begun to flourish, and thought himself well provided to encounter the Earl of Essex, if he desired it; his Majesty resolved once more to try, whether the two Houses would incline to a reasonable peace; and to that purpose sent a message to them by an express servant of his own, in these words:

The King  
sends a  
message  
to the two  
Houses,  
May 20.

“ Since his Majesty’s message of the 12th of April (in  
 “ which he conceived he had made such an overture for  
 “ the immediate disbanding of all armies, and composure  
 “ of those miserable and present distractions, by a full  
 “ and free convention of Parliament, that a perfect and  
 “ settled peace would have ensued) hath in all this time,  
 “ above a full month, procured no answer from both  
 “ Houses, his Majesty might well believe himself absolved,  
 “ both before God and man, from the least possible charge  
 “ of not having used his utmost endeavours for peace:  
 “ yet, when he considers, that the scene of all this cala-  
 “ mity is in the bowels of his own kingdom; that all the  
 “ blood, which is spilt, is of his own subjects; and that  
 “ what victory soever it shall please God to give him, must  
 “ be over those who ought not to have lifted up their  
 “ hands against him; when he considers, that these des-  
 “ perate civil dissensions may encourage and invite a fo-  
 “ reign enemy, to make a prey of the whole nation; that  
 “ Ireland is in present danger to be totally lost; that the  
 “ heavy judgments of God, plague, pestilence, and famine,  
 “ will be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural con-  
 “ tention; and that in a short time there will be so gene-  
 “ ral a habit of uncharitableness and cruelty contracted  
 “ through the whole kingdom, that even peace itself will  
 “ not restore his people to their old temper and security;  
 “ his Majesty cannot but again call for an answer to that  
 “ his gracious message, which gives so fair a rise to end  
 “ these unnatural distractions. And his Majesty doth this  
 “ with the more earnestness, because he doubts not the  
 “ condition of his armies in several parts; the strength of  
 “ horse, foot, artillery, his plenty of ammunition, (when

“ some men lately might conceive he wanted,) is so well  
 “ known and understood, that it must be confessed, no-  
 “ thing but the tenderness and love to his people, and  
 “ those Christian impressions, which always live, and he  
 “ hopes alway shall dwell, in his heart, could move him  
 “ once more to hazard a refusal. And he requires them,  
 “ as they will answer to God, to himself, and all the  
 “ world, that they will no longer suffer their fellow-sub-  
 “ jects to welter in each other’s blood ; that they would  
 “ remember by whose authority, and to what end, they  
 “ met in that council, and send such an answer to his Ma-  
 “ jesty, as may open a door to let in a firm peace, and se-  
 “ curity to the whole kingdom. If his Majesty shall again  
 “ be disappointed of his intentions therein, the blood, ra-  
 “ pine, and destruction, which may follow in England and  
 “ Ireland, will be cast upon the account of those who are  
 “ deaf to the motive of peace and accommodation.”

This message was received by the House of Peers (to  
 whom it was directed) with all demonstration of respect  
 and duty, and the messenger very civilly intreated by them:  
 but when they communicated it to the House of Com-  
 mons, and desired their concurrence in preparing an ad-  
 dress to the King suitable to his gracious invitation, that  
 House was so far from concurring with them, that they  
 gave immediate order (which was executed accordingly)  
 for the apprehension and commitment of the gentleman  
 who brought the message; and declared, “ that they  
 “ would proceed against him at a council of war,” upon  
 the order formerly mentioned, made by them when the  
 treaty was at Oxford, “ that any person coming from Ox-  
 “ ford without their General’s pass, or one from the  
 “ Houses, should be punished as a spy;” to which order  
 as the Peers never consented, so the King had never, till  
 this commitment, notice of it; and themselves, after the  
 making it, had sent several messengers to the King, with-  
 out any formality of pass or trumpet.

The House  
 of Com-  
 mons com-  
 mit the  
 messenger.

The Lords did what they could, publicly and privately,  
 to dissuade this course; but they could not prevail: the



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The Commons impeach the Queen of high treason.

House of Commons finding that the very imagination that a peace might be concluded, infinitely retarded their carrying on the war, and made not only those, who were yet free, not easy to be drawn in; but many, who were engaged, remiss, and willing to retire; therefore they resolved to proceed with that vigour and resolution, that no reasonable man should believe it possible for the King to gain a peace but by subduing them, which seemed at least equally impossible. To this purpose, instead of returning any answer to the King's message, within three days after the receiving it they impeached the Queen of high treason, "for assisting the King her husband with arms, "and ammunition, in the prosecution of the war against "them;" an attempt as unheard of among all the acts of their predecessors, and as surprising as any thing they had yet ventured upon: their Clergy sounded their trumpets louder to war than ever, if it was possible; and they resolved, that assembly of divines, to which they had at the treaty urged the King's consent, should now meet by an ordinance of their own, with an addition of some members of either House to that number.

There had been, some months before, a design of Prince Rupert upon the city of Bristol, by correspondence with some of the chief inhabitants of the city, who were weary of the tyranny of the Parliament; but it had been so unskilfully or unhappily carried, that, when the Prince was near the town, with such a party of horse and foot, as he made choice of, it was discovered, and many principal citizens apprehended by Nathaniel Fiennes, son to the Lord Say, and then Governor of that city for the Parliament; at this time, special direction and order was sent thither, "that he should, with all severity, and expedition, proceed against those conspirators," (as they called them;) and thereupon, by a sentence and judgment of a council of war, Alderman Yeomans, who had been High Sheriff of the city, and of great reputation in it, and George Bouchier, another citizen of principal account, were (against all interposition his Majesty could make) both hanged;

and all other imaginable acts done, to let all the world see that there was no way to peace but by the sword. BOOK  
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There fell out now an accident at London, which gave great advantage to them in the fierce prosecution of the war, a discovery of a plot, which produced a public thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, a wonderful animosity against the King, and a covenant, and union among themselves, and throughout the city a prejudice to all moderate men, who promoted an accommodation, and a brand upon all overtures of peace as stratagems upon the city and the Parliament. Of this plot, there being never such a formed relation made by those who made great use of it, that men can collect what the design was, or that it was laid with any probable circumstances, by which a success might be expected, I shall briefly and faithfully set down all that I know, have heard, or can reasonably conjecture to be in it; and it was thought by many, and averred by others who I believe did not think so, "that I knew as much of it as most men."

A design discovered at London, wherein Mr. Waller, Mr. Tomkins, and others, were concerned.

There was of the House of Commons, one Mr. Waller, a gentleman of a very good fortune and estate, and of admirable parts, and faculties of wit and eloquence, and of an intimate conversation and familiarity with those who had that reputation. He had, from the beginning of the Parliament, been looked upon by all men, as a person of very entire affections to the King's service, and to the established government of Church and State; and, by having no manner of relation to the Court, had the more credit and interest to promote the rights of it. When the ruptures grew so great between the King and the two Houses, that very many of the members withdrew from those councils, he, among the rest, with equal dislike absented himself; but at the time the standard was set up, having intimacy and friendship with some persons now of nearness about the King, with the King's approbation, he returned again to London; where he spoke, upon all occasions, with great sharpness and freedom; which (now there were so few there that used it, and there was no

**BOOK VII.** danger of being over-voted) was not restrained; and therefore used as an argument against those, who were gone upon pretence "that they were not suffered to declare "their opinion freely in the House; which could not be "believed, when all men knew, what liberty Mr. Waller "took, and spoke every day with impunity, against the "sense and proceedings of the House." This won him a great reputation with all people who wished well to the King; and he was looked upon as the boldest champion the Crown had in both Houses; so that such Lords, and Commons, as really desired to prevent the ruin of the kingdom, willingly complied in a great familiarity with him, as a man resolute in their ends, and best able to promote them. And it may be they believed his reputation at Court so good, that he would be no ill evidence there, of other men's zeal and affection; and so all men spoke their minds freely to him, both of the general distemper, and of the passions and ambition of particular persons: all men knowing him to be of too good a fortune, and too wary a nature, to engage himself in designs of danger or hazard.

Mr. Waller had a brother in law, one Mr. Tomkins, who had married his sister, and was Clerk of the Queen's Council, of very good fame for honesty and ability. This gentleman had good interest and reputation in the city, and conversed much with those who disliked the proceedings of the Parliament, and wished to live under the same government they were born; and from those citizens received information of the temper of the people, upon accidents, in the public affairs. And Mr. Waller and he, with that confidence that uses to be between brethren of the same good affections, frequently imparted their observations and opinions to each other; the one relating, how many in both Houses inclined to peace; and the other making the same judgment upon the correspondence he had, and intelligence he received from the most substantial men of London; and both of them again communicated what one received from the other, to the company they used to converse with; Mr. Waller imparting the wishes



and power of the well affected party in the city, to the lords and gentlemen whom he knew to be of the same mind; and Mr. Tomkins acquainting those he durst trust of the city, that such and such lords and gentlemen, who were of special note, were weary of the distractions, and would heartily and confidently contribute to such an honourable and honest peace, as all men knew would be most acceptable to the King. And from hence they came reasonably to a conclusion, that if some means were found out to raise a confidence in those who wished well, that they should not be oppressed by the extravagant power of the desperate party; but that if they would so far assist one another, as to declare their opinions to be the same, they should be able to prevent or suppress those tumults, which seemed to countenance the distractions; and the Houses would be induced to terms of moderation.

In this time the Lord Conway, being returned from Ireland, incensed against the Scots, and discontented with the Parliament here, finding Mr. Waller in good esteem with the Earl of Northumberland, and of great friendship with the Earl of Portland, he entered into the same familiarity; and, being more of a soldier, in the discourses administered questions, and considerations, necessary to be understood by men that either meant to use force, or to resist it; and wished "that they who had interest and acquaintance in the city would endeavour by a mutual correspondence to inform themselves of the distinct affections of their neighbours, that, upon any exigent, men might foresee whom they might trust;" and these discourses being again derived by Mr. Waller to Mr. Tomkins, he, upon occasion, and conference with his companions, insisted on the same arguments; and they again conversing with their friends and acquaintance, (for of all this business, there were not above three who ever spoke together,) agreed, "that some well affected persons, in every parish and ward about London, should make a list of all the inhabitants; and thereupon to make a reasonable guess of their several affections," (which at that

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time was no hard thing for observing men to do,) and thence a computation of the strength and power of that party, which was notoriously violent against any accommodation.

I am persuaded the utmost project in this design was (I speak not what particular men might intend, or wish upon their own fancies) to beget such a combination among the party well affected, that they would refuse to conform to those ordinances of the twentieth part, and other taxes for the support of the war; and thereby, or by joint petitioning for peace, and discountenancing the other who petitioned against it, to prevail with the Parliament to incline to a determination of the war. And it may be, some men might think of making advantage of any casual commotion, or preventing any mischief by it; and thereupon that inquiry where the magazines lay, and discourse of wearing some distinguishing tokens, had been rather casually mentioned, than seriously proposed. For it is certain, very many who were conscious to themselves of loyal purposes to the King, and of hearty dislike of the Parliament's proceedings, and observed the violent, revengeful, ruining prosecution of all men, by those of the engaged party, were not without sad apprehensions that, upon some jealousy, and quarrel picked, even a general massacre might be attempted of all the King's friends; and thereupon, in several discourses, might touch upon such expedients, as might in those seasons be most beneficial to their safety. But that there was ever any formed design, either of letting in the King's army into London, which was impossible to be contrived, or of raising an army there, and surprising the Parliament, or any one person of it, or of using any violence in or upon the city, I could never yet see cause to believe; and if there had, they would have published such a relation of it, after Mr. Waller had confessed to them all he knew, had heard, or fancied to himself, as might have constituted some reasonable understanding of it; and not have contented themselves with making conclusions from questions that had been asked, and answers made, by per-

sons unknown, and forcing expressions used by one, to relate to actions of another, between whom there had been never the least acquaintance or correspondence; and joining what was said at London to somewhat done at Oxford, at another time, and to another purpose: for, before I finish this discourse, it will be necessary to speak of another action, which, how distinct soever from this that is related, was woven together to make one plot.

From the King's coming to Oxford, many citizens of good quality, who were prosecuted, or jealously looked upon in London, had resorted to the King, and hoping, if the winter produced not a peace, that the summer would carry the King before that city with an army, they had entertained some discourse "of raising, upon their own stocks of money and credit, some regiments of foot and horse, and joining with some gentlemen of Kent, who were likewise inclined to such an undertaking." Among these was Sir Nicholas Crisp, a citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active spirited man, who had been lately prosecuted with great severity by the House of Commons; and had thereupon fled from London, for appearing too great a stickler in a petition for peace in the city. This gentleman industriously preserved a correspondence still there, by which he gave the King often very useful intelligence, and assured him "of a very considerable party, which would appear there for him, whenever his own power should be so near, as to give them any countenance." In the end, whether invited by his correspondents there, or trusting his own sprightly inclinations and resolutions too much, and concluding that all, who were equally honest, would be equally bold, he desired his Majesty, "to grant a commission to such persons, whom he would nominate, of the city of London, under the Great Seal of England, in the nature of a commission of array, by virtue whereof, when the season should come, his party there would appear in discipline and order; and that this was desired by those, who best knew what countenance and authority was requisite; and being



BOOK "trusted to them would not be executed at all, or else at  
VII. "such a time as his Majesty should receive ample fruit by  
"it; provided it were done with secrecy, equal to the ha-  
"zard they should run who were employed in it."

The King had this exception to it, "the improbability  
"that it could do good, and that the failing might do  
"hurt to the undertakers." But the promoter was a very  
popular man in the city, where he had been a commander  
of the Trained Bands, till the ordinance of the militia re-  
moved him; which rather improved, than lessened, his  
credit; and he was very confident, it would produce a  
notable advantage to the King: however, they desired it  
who were there, and would not appear without it; and  
therefore the King consented to it; referring the nomina-  
tion of all persons in the commission to him; who, he  
verily believed, had proceeded by the instruction and ad-  
vice of those that were nearest the concernment; and for  
the secrecy of it, the King referred the preparing and dis-  
patch of the commission to Sir Nicholas Crisp himself,  
who should acquaint no more with it than he found re-  
quisite; so, without the privity or advice of any counsel-  
lor, or minister of state then most trusted by his Majesty,  
he procured such a commission as he desired (being no  
other than the commission of array in English) to be  
signed by the King, and sealed with the Great Seal.

This being done, and remaining still in his custody, the  
Lady Aubigny, by a pass, and with the consent of the  
Houses, came to Oxford to transact the affairs of her own  
fortune with the King upon the death of her husband,  
who was killed at Edge-hill; and she having in few days  
dispatched her business there, and being ready to return,  
Sir Nicholas Crisp came to the King, and besought him,  
"to desire that lady" (who had a pass, and so could pro-  
mise herself safety in her journey) "to carry a small box"  
(in which that commission should be) "with her, and to  
"keep it in her own custody, until a gentleman should  
"call to her ladyship for it, by such a token: that token,"  
he said, "he could send to one of the persons trusted,

“ who should keep it by him till the opportunity came, in which it might be executed.” The King accordingly wished the Lady Aubigney to carry it with great care and secrecy; telling her, “ it much concerned his own service;” and to deliver it in such manner, and upon such assurance, as is before mentioned: which she did, and, within few days after her return to London, delivered it to a person who was appointed to call for it. How this commission was discovered, I could never learn: for though Mr. Waller had the honour to be admitted often to that lady, and was believed by her to be a gentleman of most entire affections to the King’s service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with what she knew, yet her ladyship herself, not knowing what it was she carried, could not inform any body else.

But about this time, a servant of Mr. Tomkins, who had often cursorily overheard his master and Mr. Waller discourse of the argument we are now upon, placed himself behind a hanging, at a time they were together; and there, whilst either of them discoursed the language and opinion of the company they kept, overheard enough to make him believe his information, and discovery, would make him welcome to those whom he thought concerned; and so went to Mr. Pym, and acquainted him with all he had heard, or probably imagined. The time when Mr. Pym was made acquainted with it is not known; but the circumstances of the publishing it were such, as filled all men with apprehensions. It was on Wednesday the thirty-first of May, their solemn fast-day, when, being all at their sermon, in St. Margaret’s church in Westminster, according to their custom, a letter or message is brought privately to Mr. Pym; who thereupon, with some of the most active members, rise from their seats; and, after a little whispering together, remove out of the church: this could not but exceedingly affect those who stayed behind; immediately they sent guards to all the prisons, as Lambeth-House, Ely-House, and such places, where their Malignants were in custody, with directions “ to search

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“the prisoners;” and some other places which they thought fit should be suspected. After the sermons were ended, the Houses met; and were only then told, “that letters were intercepted going to the King and the Court at Oxford, that expressed some notable conspiracy in hand, to deliver up the Parliament and the city into the hands of the Cavaliers; and that the time for the execution of it drew very near.” Hereupon a committee was appointed “to examine all persons they thought fit; and to apprehend some nominated at that time.” And the same night, this committee apprehended Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins; and, the next day, such others as they suspected.

Mr. Waller was so confounded with fear and apprehension, that he confessed whatever he had said, heard, thought, or seen; all that he knew of himself, and all that he suspected of others; without concealing any person of what degree or quality soever, or any discourse that he had ever, upon any occasion, entertained with them: what such and such ladies of great honour, to whom, upon the credit of his great wit, and very good reputation, he had been admitted, had spoke to him in their chambers of the proceedings in the Houses; and how they had encouraged him to oppose them; what correspondence and intercourse they had with some ministers of state at Oxford; and how they derived all intelligence thither. He informed them, “that the Earl of Portland and the Lord Conway had been particular in all the agitations which had been with the citizens; and had given frequent advice and directions how they should demean themselves; and that the Earl of Northumberland had expressed very good wishes to any attempt; that might give a stop to the violent actions and proceedings of the Houses, and produce a good understanding with the King.”

When the committee were thus furnished, they took the examinations of Mr. Tomkins, and such other as they thought necessary, and having at the same time, by some



other means, discovered (or concealed it till this time) that commission which is before discoursed of, and gotten the very original into their hands, they kneaded both into one plot and conspiracy; and, acquainting the Houses with so much as they thought yet seasonable to publish, they declared, (without naming any lords, or other persons, to be interested in the design, save those only who were imprisoned; among whom the Lady Aubigny was one: and without communicating any of the examinations, which, they pretended, were not to be common till the conspirators were brought to trial,) “ that the original  
“ of this conspiracy was from the late London petition for  
“ peace,” which was spoken of about Christmas last in the book precedent; “ and that, under pretence of peace and  
“ moderation, a party was to be formed, which should be  
“ able to suppress all opponents, and to awe the Parlia-  
“ ment: that, to this purpose, some of those who were  
“ the principal movers and fomenters of that petition, did  
“ continue, in the nature of a committee, still to carry on  
“ the design: that they held intelligence in both armies,  
“ Court, and Parliament; took a general survey of the num-  
“ bers and affections of the several inhabitants throughout  
“ the wards and parishes of the city, and places adjacent;  
“ and distinguished all under the titles of men affected, or  
“ averse to the King; or indifferent, and neutral persons,  
“ carried only by the success and power of the prevailers:  
“ that they were well instructed in the number and incli-  
“ nations of the Trained Bands of London; the places  
“ where the magazines were kept; where the commanders  
“ for the Parliament dwelt; had thought of places for  
“ rendezvous, and retreat, upon any occasion, and of co-  
“ lours, and marks of distinction between the different  
“ parties.

“ That Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins were the principal  
“ persons employed, and trusted to give advertisement to,  
“ and correspond with, the King’s ministers at Oxford;  
“ and receive advertisements and commands from thence,  
“ for the completing the work; that they two held con-

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“stant intelligence and intercourse with the Lord Falkland, then principal Secretary to the King; and that from him they received the signification of the King’s pleasure; and that those directions, counsels, and encouragements had been principally sent by those messengers which had been employed by his Majesty to the Parliament, under the pretence of peace; and especially by Mr. Alexander Hambden; who came with the last message, and was a cousin-german to Mr. Waller. That the Lady Aubigney, who had been lately at Oxford, had brought thence a commission to them from the King, by force of arms to destroy, kill, and slay the forces, raised by the Parliament and their adherents, as traitors and rebels; and that they had lately sent a message to Oxford by one Hassel, a servant of the King’s, to acquaint the Lord Falkland, that the design was come to a good perfection; unto which, answer was returned, that they should hasten it with all speed:

“That the particulars of the design appeared to be:

- “1. To seize into their custody the King’s children.
- “2. To seize several members of both Houses, the Lord Mayor, and committee of the militia, under pretence of bringing them to a legal trial.
- “3. To seize upon the outworks, forts, Tower of London, magazines, gates, and other places of importance in the city.
- “4. To let in the King’s forces to surprise the city, and to destroy all those who should oppose them by authority of the Parliament.
- “5. By force of arms to resist all payments imposed by authority of Parliament, raised for the support of the armies employed for their just defence, &c. to suspend, if not alter, the whole government of the city, and, with assistance of the King’s force, to awe and master the Parliament.”

When both Houses were awakened, and startled with this report, the first thing agreed on was, “a day of thanksgiving to God for this wonderful delivery;” which shut out any future doubts, and disquisitions, whether there had been any such delivery; and, consequently,

whether their plot was in truth, or had been so framed. Then it was said, “that as the design was the most desperate, so the carriage was the most subtle, and among persons of reputation, and not suspected; and that there was reason to suspect, many members of both Houses were privy to it; and therefore there ought to be all possible care taken to make the discovery perfect, and to unite themselves for the public defence: that if any part were left undiscovered, it might prove fatal to the commonwealth.” This finding a full consent, it was propounded, “that a protestation might be drawn up, by which every member of the two Houses might purge himself from any guilt of, or privity in, that conspiracy; and likewise oblige himself to resist and oppose any such combination.” They who were under the character of moderate men, and usually advanced all motions of peace and accommodation, durst not oppose the expedient, lest they should be concluded guilty; most of them having had familiarity with Mr. Waller, and, no doubt, upon sundry occasions, spoken with that freedom to him, as might very well incur a severe interpretation, if, upon this occasion, what they had said should be scanned. And so, before the rising, there was framed by the House of Commons, a vow and covenant to be taken by the members of both Houses, and afterwards by the city, and their army; for their jealousy was now spread over all their own quarters; which covenant, for the rareness of it both in title and style, I think necessary here to insert in the very terms; which were these:

A vow and covenant agreed to be taken by the members of both Houses upon discovery of that design.

*A sacred vow, and covenant, taken by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, upon the discovery of the late horrid and treacherous design, for the destruction of this Parliament and the kingdom: the 6th of June 1643.*

“Whereas there hath been, and now is, in this kingdom, a Popish and traitorous plot for the subversion of the true Protestant Reformed religion, and the liberty of



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“ the subject; and, in pursuance thereof, a Popish army  
 “ hath been raised, and is now on foot in divers parts of  
 “ this kingdom; and whereas there hath been a treacher-  
 “ ous and horrid design, lately discovered by the great  
 “ blessing and especial providence of God, of divers per-  
 “ sons, to join themselves with the armies raised by the  
 “ King, and to destroy the forces raised by the Lords and  
 “ Commons in Parliament, to surprise the cities of Lon-  
 “ don and Westminster, with the suburbs; by arms to  
 “ force the Parliament; and finding by constant experi-  
 “ ence, that many ways of force, and treachery, are con-  
 “ tinually attempted, to bring to utter ruin and destruction  
 “ the Parliament and kingdom; and that which is dearest,  
 “ the true Protestant religion: and that, for the prevent-  
 “ ing and withstanding the same, it is fit, that all, who  
 “ are true hearted, and lovers of their country, should bind  
 “ themselves each to other in a sacred vow and covenant:

“ I *A. B.* in humility, and reverence of the Divine Ma-  
 “ jesty, declare my hearty sorrow for my own sins, and the  
 “ sins of this nation, which have deserved the calamities  
 “ and judgments, that now lie upon it; and my true in-  
 “ tention is, by God’s grace, to endeavour the amendment  
 “ of my own ways: and I do farther, in the presence of  
 “ Almighty God, declare, vow, and covenant, that, in  
 “ order to the security and preservation of the true Re-  
 “ formed Protestant religion, and liberty of the subject, I  
 “ will not consent to the laying down of arms, so long as  
 “ the Papists, now in open war against the Parliament,  
 “ shall by force of arms be protected from the justice  
 “ thereof: and that I do abhor and detest the said wicked  
 “ and treacherous design, lately discovered: and that I  
 “ never gave, nor will give, my assent to the execution  
 “ thereof, but will, according to my power, and vocation,  
 “ oppose and resist the same, and all other of the like na-  
 “ ture. And in case any other like design shall hereafter  
 “ come to my knowledge, I will make such timely disco-  
 “ very, as I shall conceive may best conduce to the pre-

“venting thereof. And whereas I do in my conscience believe, that the forces, raised by the two Houses of Parliament, are raised and continued for their just defence, and for the defence of the true Protestant religion, and liberty of the subject, against the forces raised by the King; that I will, according to my power, and vocation, assist the forces raised and continued, by both Houses of Parliament, against the forces raised by the King without their consent: and will likewise assist all other persons that shall take this oath, in what they shall do in pursuance thereof; and will not directly, or indirectly, adhere unto, nor shall willingly assist the forces raised by the King, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament. And this vow, and covenant, I make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as I shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.”

Though many were much startled at this covenant, and took time to consider of it, there being in the preamble, and positive part, much which very few believed, and in the promissory part a more direct denouncing war against the King, than had been in plain terms before avowed by them, and an absolute protestation against peace, till the King were at their mercy; yet the fear of being concluded guilty of the plot, made them swallow all the rest; and the example of one prevailing with many, there was not a member of either House that took it not: and being thus fettered and entangled themselves, they sent their committee into the city, to acquaint them with their “happy discovery, and how miraculously God had preserved them, and to engage them in the same sacred vow, and covenant;” which was readily submitted to; and, by the industry of their clergy, sooner than can be imagined, taken throughout that people. Then it was, with equal diligence and solemnity, transmitted to their army, that their fears of inconvenience from thence might be likewise

The same  
vow and  
covenant  
taken  
throughout  
the city  
and army.

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The trial  
and execu-  
tion of Mr.  
Tomkins  
and Mr.  
Chaloner.

purged; and thence it grew the mark of distinction, to know their friends and enemies by; and whosoever refused to take that covenant, needed no other charge to be concluded, and prosecuted, as the highest Malignant.

Being this way secure from any future clamours for peace, they proceeded to try Mr. Tomkins; Mr. Chaloner, a citizen of good wealth and credit, and most intimate with Tomkins; Mr. Hambden, who brought the last message from the King; one Hassel, a messenger of the King's, who passed often between London and Oxford, and sometimes carried letters and messages to the Lord Falkland; and some citizens, whose names were in the commission sent from Oxford; by a council of war; by whom Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner were condemned to be hanged; and were both, with all circumstances of severity and cruelty, executed: the one on a gibbet, by his own house in Holborn; where he had long lived with singular estimation; and the other, by his house in Cornhill, near the Old Exchange. Hassel the messenger saved them farther trouble, and died in prison the night before his trial: and there being no evidence against Mr. Hambden, but what Mr. Waller himself gave, they gave no judgment against him, but kept him long after in prison, till he died: neither proceeded they capitally against those citizens whose names were in the commission, it not appearing that their names were used with their consent and privity; though the brand of being Malignants served the turn for their undoing; for all their estates were seized, as theirs were who had been executed.

There is nothing clearer than that the commission sent from Oxford by the Lady Aubigney, had not any relation to the discourses passed between Mr. Waller, Tomkins, and those citizens; or that they, who knew of one, had not any privity with the other: which if they had had, and intended such an insurrection, as was alleged, Mr. Waller, and Mr. Tomkins, or some one of those lords who were supposed to combine with them, would have been in the commission. Or if the King's ministers had been en-



gaged in the consultation, and hoped to have raised a party which should suddenly seize upon the city and the Parliament, they would never have thought a commission granted to some gentlemen at Oxford, (for the major part of the commissioners were there,) and a few private citizens, would have served for that work. I am very confident, and I have very much reason for that confidence, that there was no more known, or thought of at Oxford, concerning the matter of the commission, than I have before set forth; nor of the other, than that Mr. Tomkins sometimes writ to the Lord Falkland, (for Mr. Waller, out of the cautiousness of his own nature, never writ word,) and by messengers signified to him, "that the number of those who desired peace, and abhorred the proceedings of the Houses, was very considerable; and that they resolved, by refusing to contribute to the war, and to submit to their ordinances, to declare and manifest themselves in that manner, that the violent party in the city should not have credit enough to hinder any accommodation." And the Lord Falkland always returned answer, "that they should expedite those expedients, as soon as might be, for that delays made the war more difficult to be restrained." And if I could find evidence, or reason, to induce me to believe, that there was any farther design in the thing itself, or that the King gave farther countenance to it, I should not at all conceal it. No man can imagine, that if the King could have entertained any probable hope of reducing London, which was the fomentor, supporter, and indeed the life of the war; or could have found any expedient, from whence he could reasonably propose to dissolve, scatter, and disperse those who, under the name of a Parliament, had kindled a war against him, but he would have given his utmost assistance and countenance thereunto, either by public force, or private contrivance.

There were very great endeavours used, to have proceeded with equal severity against the Earl of Portland, and the Lord Conway, (for the accusation of the Earl of

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Northumberland, it was proceeded tenderly in; for though the violent party was heartily incensed against him, as a man weary of them, yet his reputation was still very great,) who were both close prisoners; and, to that purpose, their lordships and Mr. Waller were confronted before the committee; where they as peremptorily denying, as he charging them, and there being no other witness but he against them, the prosecution was rather let alone than declined, till after a long restraint they procured enlargement upon bail. Mr. Waller himself, (though confessedly the most guilty; and by his unhappy demeanour, in this time of his affliction, he had raised as many enemies as he had formerly friends, and almost the same,) after he had, with incredible dissimulation, acted such a remorse of conscience, that his trial was put off out of Christian compassion, till he might recover his understanding, (and that was not, till the heat and fury of the prosecutors was reasonably abated with the sacrifices they had made,) and, by drawing visitants to himself, of the most powerful ministers of all factions, had, by his liberality, and penitence, his receiving vulgar and vile sayings from them with humility and reverence, as clearer convictions and informations than in his life he had ever had; and distributing great sums to them for their prayers and ghostly counsel; so satisfied them, that they satisfied others; was brought, at his suit, to the House of Commons' bar; where (being a man in truth very powerful in language; and who, by what he spoke, and in the manner of speaking it, exceedingly captivated the good-will and benevolence of his hearers; which is the highest part of an orator) with such flattery, as was most exactly calculated to that meridian, with such a submission, as their pride took delight in, and such dejection of mind, and spirit, as was like to cozen the major part, and be thought serious; he laid before them "their own danger and concernment, if they should suffer  
"one of their own body, how unworthy and monstrous  
"soever, to be tried by the soldiers, who might thereby  
"grow to that power hereafter, that they would both try

“ those they would not be willing should be tried, and for  
“ things, which they would account no crimes; the in-  
“ convenience and insupportable mischief whereof all wise  
“ commonwealths had foreseen, and prevented, by exempt-  
“ ing their own members from all judgments but their  
“ own:” he prevailed, not to be tried by a council of war;  
and thereby preserved his dear-bought life; so that, in truth,  
he does as much owe the keeping his head to that oration,  
as Catiline did the loss of his to those of Tully: and by  
having done ill very well, he, by degrees, drew that respect  
to his parts, which always carries some compassion to the  
person, that he got leave to compound for his transgres-  
sion, and them to accept of ten thousand pounds (which  
their affairs wanted) for his liberty; whereupon he had  
leave to recollect himself in another country (for his li-  
berty was to be in banishment) how miserable he had  
made himself, in obtaining that leave to live out of his  
own. And there cannot be a greater evidence of the in-  
estimable value of his parts, than that he lived, after this,  
in the good affection and esteem of many, the pity of most,  
and the reproach and scorn of few, or none.

These high proceedings at London, and in the Houses,  
were not seconded with any notable success abroad; but  
it appeared plainly, by the slow coming in of monies, and  
more slow coming in of men, that the hearts of the people  
were generally more devoted to peace, than to the conti-  
nuance of those distractions; and the Earl of Essex, by  
the great decay and sickness of his army, was not, in near  
six weeks, able to remove from Reading; by which many  
men concluded, which could not be reasonably foreseen,  
that if Reading had held out many days longer, he would  
have been compelled to raise his siege; and that was the  
reason the Earl gave for granting so good conditions: for  
if he could have stayed longer before it, he well knew, they  
must have yielded on worse terms; neither feared he the  
King would be able to relieve it. In the end, there being  
no other way to quiet the city of London, he marched to-  
wards Oxford; but, in truth, rather to secure Bucking-



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The Earl  
of Essex  
marches to  
Thame.

hamshire, which was now infested by the King's horse, than to disquiet that place. And, to that purpose, he fixed his head quarter at Thame, ten miles from Oxford, and upon the very edge of the other county.

In the beginning of the war, the army in Scotland having been lately disbanded, many officers of that nation, who had served in Germany and in France, betook themselves to the service of the Parliament; whereof divers were men of good conduct and courage; though there were more as bad as the cause in which they engaged. Of the former sort Colonel Urry was a man of name and reputation, and an excellent officer of horse, and had commanded those horse at Edge-hill under Balfour, which had preserved their army there; and finding himself afterwards not so well regarded, as, he thought, he had deserved, as it was no easy thing to value that people at the rate they did set upon themselves; and being without any other affection for their service, than their pay inclined him to, he resolved to quit them, and to go to the King; in order to which, he had kept some correspondence with the Earl of Brainford, the King's General; under whose command he had formerly served in Germany. Whilst the Earl of Essex remained at Thame, and his army quartered thereabout, Urry came to Oxford, in the equipage that became a Colonel of horse who had received good pay; and the very next day after he came, having been very graciously received by the King, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he went to Prince Rupert, acquainted him where the Parliament horse lay, and how loose they were in their quarters; and, to give a testimony of his fidelity to the King, he desired to march a volunteer with a good party, to make an attempt upon the enemy; and the Prince assigning a strong party for the service, he accompanied, and conducted them out of the common road, till they came to a town; where a regiment of the Parliament's horse was quartered; which they beat up, and killed or took most of the officers and soldiers; and then fell upon those other quarters, by which they had

passed before, with the like success ; so he returned to Oxford with many prisoners, and with notable damage to the enemy.

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As soon as he returned, he made another proposition to the Prince for the attacking the quarters near Thame ; through which he had passed, when he came to Oxford, and so was well acquainted with the posture in which they were ; and assured the Prince, “ that, if he went about it “ time enough, before there should be any alteration in “ their quarters, which he believed the General would “ quickly make, the enterprise would be worthy of it.”

The Prince was so well satisfied with what he had already done, that he resolved to conduct the next adventure himself, which he did very fortunately. They went out of the ports of Oxford in the evening upon a Saturday, and marched beyond all the quarters as far as Wickham, and fell in there at the farther end of the town towards London, from whence no enemy was expected, and so no guards were kept there. A regiment of horse, and of foot, were lodged there ; which were cut off, or taken prisoners ; and all the horses and a good booty brought away. From thence they marched backward to another quarter, within less than two miles of the General’s own quarters ; where his men lodged with the same security they had done at Wickham, not expecting any enemy that way ; and so met with the same fate the others had done ; and were all killed, or made prisoners. Thus having performed at least as much as they had proposed to do, and being laden with prisoners and booty, and the sun being now rising, the Prince thought it time to retire to Oxford, and gave orders to march accordingly with all convenient speed, till they should come to a bridge which was yet two miles from them, where he had appointed a guard to attend, to favour their retreat.

Prince Rupert beats up some of his quarters with good success.

But the alarm had been brought to the Earl of Essex from all the quarters, who quickly gathered those troops together, which were nearest ; and directed those to follow the Prince, and to entertain him in skirmishes, till

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himself should come up with the foot, and some other troops; which he made all possible haste to do. So that when the Prince had almost passed a fair plain, or field, called Chalgrave field, from whence he was to enter a lane, which continued to the bridge; the enemy's horse were discovered marching after them with speed; and as they might easily overtake them in the lane, so they must as easily have put them into great disorder. Therefore the Prince resolved to expect, and stand them upon the open field, though his horse were all tired, and the sun was grown very hot, it being about eight of the clock in the morning in June. He then directed, "that the guard of "the prisoners should make what haste they could to the "bridge, but that all the rest should return;" for some were entered the lane: and so he placed himself and his troops, as he thought fit, in that field to receive the enemy; which made more haste, and with less order than they should have done; and being more in number than the Prince, and consisting of many of the principal officers, who, having been present with the Earl of Essex when the alarm came, stayed not for their own troops, but joined with those who were ready in the pursuit, as they thought, of a flying enemy, or such as would easily be arrested in their hasty retreat; and, having now overtaken them, meant to take revenge themselves for the damage they had received that night, and morning, before the General could come up to have a share in the victory, though his troops were even in view. But the Prince entertained them so roughly, that though they charged very bravely and obstinately, being many of their best officers, of which the chiefest falling, the rest shewed less vigour, in a short time they broke, and fled, and were pursued till they came near the Earl of Essex's body; which being at near a mile's distance, and making a stand to receive their flying troops, and to be informed of their disaster, the Prince with his troops hastened his retreat, and passed the lane, and came safe to the bridge before any of the Earl's forces came up; who found it then to no purpose to go



farther, there being a good guard of foot, which had likewise lined both sides of the hedges a good way in the lane. Thus the Prince, about noon, or shortly after, entered Oxford, with near two hundred prisoners, seven cornets of horse, and four ensigns of foot, with most of the men he carried from thence; few only having been killed in the action, whereof some were of name.

The Prince presented Colonel Urry to the King with a great testimony of the courage he had shewed in the action, as well as of his counsel and conduct in the whole; which was indeed very dexterous, and could have been performed by no man, who had not been very conversant in the quarters of those he destroyed. Upon which, the King honoured him with knighthood, and a commission to raise a regiment of horse; and every body magnified and extolled him, as they usually do a man who hath good luck, and the more, because he was a Scotchman, and professed a repentance for having been in rebellion against the King. He deserves this testimony, and vindication to be given him, against the calumnies which were raised against him, "as if he had broken his trust, and deserted the service of the Parliament, and betrayed them to the King," which is not true. He had owned and published his discontents long before, and demanded redress and justice in some particulars from the Parliament, in which the Earl of Essex thought he had reason; and wished he might receive satisfaction. But the man was in his nature proud and imperious; had raised many enemies; was a man of licence, and committed many disorders of that kind. He was however a good officer in the field; regular and vigilant in marching, and in his quarters; which the Parliament thought other men would attain to, who had fewer vices; and therefore granted nothing that he had desired; upon which he declared, "he would serve them no longer;" and delivered up his commission to the Earl of Essex; and being then pressed to promise, that he would not serve the King, he positively refused to give any such engagement; and after he had stayed in London about a month, and had

**BOOK** received encouragement from some friends in Oxford, he  
**VII.** came thither in the manner set down before.

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The Prince's success in this last march was very seasonable, and raised the spirits at Oxford very much, and for some time allayed the jealousies and animosities, which too often broke out in several factions to the disquiet of the King. It was visibly great in the number of the prisoners; whereof many were of condition, and the names of many officers were known, who were left dead upon the field, as Colonel Gunter, who was looked upon as the best officer of horse they had, and a man of known malice to the government of the Church; which had drawn some severe censure upon him before the troubles, and for which he had still meditated revenge. One of the prisoners taken in the action said, "that he was confident Mr. Hambden was hurt, for he saw him ride off the field before the action was done, which he never used to do, with his head hanging down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his horse;" by which he concluded he was hurt. The news the next day made the victory much more important, than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loss the enemy had sustained in their quarters, by which three or four regiments were utterly broken and lost: the names of many officers, of the best account, were known, who were either killed upon the place, or so hurt as there remained little hope of their recovery.

Among the prisoners, there were taken Colonel Sheffield, a younger son of the Earl of Mulgrave, and one Colonel Beckly a Scotchman; who, being both visibly wounded, acted their hurts so well, and pretended to be so ready to expire, that, upon their paroles neither to endeavour nor endure a rescue, they were suffered to rest at a private house in the way, within a mile of the field, till their wounds should be dressed, and they recover so much strength as to be able to render themselves prisoners at Oxford. But the King's forces were no sooner gone, than they found means to send to their comrades, and were the

next day strong enough, to suffer themselves to be removed to Thame, by a strong party sent from the Earl of Essex; and, between denying that they had promised, and saying, that they would perform it, they never submitted themselves to be prisoners, as much against the law of arms, as their taking arms was against their allegiance. But that which would have been looked upon as a considerable recompense for a defeat, could not but be thought a great addition to the victory, which was the death of Mr. Hambden; who, being shot into the shoulder with a brace of bullets, which brake the bone, within three weeks after died with extraordinary pain; to as great a consternation of all that party, as if their whole army had been defeated, or cut off.

Mr. Hambden wounded in Chalgrave field, of which he died.

Many men observed (as upon signal turns of great affairs, as this was, such observations are frequently made) that the field in which the late skirmish was, and upon which Mr. Hambden received his death's wound, Chalgrave field, was the same place in which he had first executed the ordinance of the militia, and engaged that county, in which his reputation was very great, in this rebellion: and it was confessed by the prisoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the alarm that morning, after their quarters were beaten up, he was exceeding solicitous to draw forces together to pursue the enemy; and, being a colonel of foot, put himself among those horse as a volunteer, who were first ready; and that when the Prince made a stand, all the officers were of opinion to stay till their body came up, and he alone (being second to none but the General himself in the observance and application of all men) persuaded, and prevailed with them to advance; so violently did his fate carry him, to pay the mulct in the place where he had committed the transgression, about a year before.

He was a gentleman of a good family in Buckinghamshire, and born to a fair fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himself all the licence in sports and exercises,



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and company, which were used by men of the most jolly conversation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society, yet preserving his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and above all, a flowing courtesy to all men; though they who conversed nearly with him, found him growing into a dislike of the ecclesiastical government of the Church, yet most believed it rather a dislike of some Churchmen, and of some introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse, or fame in the kingdom, before the business of Ship-money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst, at his own charge, support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the Court. His carriage, throughout this agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony. And the judgment that was given against him infinitely more advanced him, than the service for which it was given. When this Parliament begun, (being returned Knight of the shire for the county where he lived,) the eyes of all men were fixed upon him, as their *Patriæ Pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his power and interest, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt, than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and, under the notion of doubts, insinu-

ating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them.

And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person. He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For the first year of the Parliament, he seemed rather to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humours, than to inflame them. But wise and dispassioned men plainly discerned, that that moderation proceeded from prudence, and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved of the moderation; and that he begot many opinions and motions, the education whereof he committed to other men; so far disguising his own designs, that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of voices, he would withdraw himself before the question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others, of his integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the Scots for the invasion of England, and what farther was entered into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any alteration of the government in Parliament, no man doubts was at least with the privity of this gentleman.

After he was among those members accused by the King of high treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his sword, he threw away the scabbard; for he passionately opposed the overture made by the King for a treaty from Nottingham, and as eminently, all expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at Oxford; and was prin-



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cipally relied on, to prevent any infusions which might be made into the Earl of Essex towards peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that party, than the General himself. In the first entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a colonel, upon all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less pleasing to the one party, than it was condoled in the other. In a word, what was said of Cinna might well be applied to him; "he had a head to contrive, "and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute, any "mischief." His death therefore seemed to be a great deliverance to the nation.

The Earl of Essex marches from Thame to London; quartering his army about St. Alban's.

The Earl of Essex's army was so weakened by these defeats, and more by the sickness that had wasted it, that it was not thought safe to remain longer so near his unquiet and restless enemies. The factions and animosities at London required his presence there; and he thought the army would be sooner recruited there, than at so great a distance; so that he marched directly from Thame to London, where he found jealousy and contention enough; leaving his army quartered about St. Alban's. Whilst the affairs of the Parliament were in this distraction, the King's recovered great reputation; and the season of the year being fit for action, all discontents and factious murmurings were adjourned to the next winter.

The King's affairs in the West.

The end of the treaty, in which we left the chief commanders of the Cornish forces, with commissioners of the other western counties, was like that in other places; for



notwithstanding those extraordinary obligations of oaths, and receiving the Sacrament, circumstances in no other treaty, the Parliament no sooner sent their votes and declarations to them, (the same which are before mentioned upon the treaties in Yorkshire and Cheshire,) and some members of their own to overlook and perplex them, but all peaceable inclinations were laid aside; so that (having in the mean time industriously levied money, throughout Somerset and Devon, upon friends and enemies; and a good body of men) the night before the expiration of the treaty and cessation, James Chudleigh, the Major General of the rebels, brought a strong party of horse and foot within two miles of Launceston, the head quarter of the Cornish, and the very next morning, the cessation not being determined till after twelve of the clock in the night, marched upon the town, where they were not sufficiently provided for them. For though the commanders of the Cornish had employed their time, as usefully as they could, during the cessation, in preparing the gentry of that country, and all the inhabitants, to submit to a weekly tax for the support of that power, which defended them; over and above which, the gentlemen, and persons of quality, freely brought in all their plate to be disposed of to the public; and though they foresaw, after the committee of Parliament came into the country, that the treaty would conclude without fruit, and therefore Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Bevil Greenvil repaired to Launceston the day before the expiration of the treaty, to meet any attempt <sup>that</sup> should be made upon them: yet, being to feed and pay their small forces out of one county, they had been compelled to quarter their men at a great distance, that no one part might be more oppressed than was necessary: so that all that was done the first day was, by the advantage of passes, and lining of hedges, to keep the enemy in action, till the other forces came up; which they seasonably did towards the evening; and then the enemy, who received great loss in that day's action, grew so heartless, that in the night they retired to Oking-

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ton, fifteen miles from the place of their skirmish. After which many small skirmishes ensued, for many days, with various success; sometimes the Cornish advancing in Devon, and then retiring again; for it appeared now, that a formed army was marching against them, so far superior in number, that there was no reasonable hope of resistance.

The Earl of  
Stamford  
marches  
into Corn-  
wall with  
an army.

Towards the middle of May, the Earl of Stamford marched into Cornwall, by the north part, with a body of fourteen hundred horse and dragoons, and five thousand four hundred foot by the poll, with a train of thirteen brass ordnance, and a mortar-piece, and a very plentiful magazine of victual and ammunition, and every way in as good an equipage, as could be provided by men who wanted no money; whilst the King's small forces, being not half the number, and unsupplied with every useful thing, were at Launceston; of whom the enemy had so absolute a contempt, though they knew they were marching to them, within six or seven miles, that they considered only how to take them after they were dispersed, and to prevent their running into Pendennis castle, to give them farther trouble. To which purpose having encamped themselves upon the flat top of a very high hill, to which the ascents were very steep every way, near Stratton, being the only part of Cornwall eminently disaffected to the King's service, they sent a party of twelve hundred horse and dragoons, under the command of Sir George Chudleigh, father to their Major General, to Bodmin, to surprise the High Sheriff and principal gentlemen of the country; and thereby, not only to prevent the coming up of any more strength to the King's party, but, under the awe of such a power of horse, to make the whole country rise for them. This design, which was not in itself unreasonable, proved fortunate to the King. For his forces which marched from Launceston, with a resolution to fight with the enemy, upon any disadvantage of place or number, (which, how hazardous soever, carried less danger with it, than retiring into the county, or any



thing else that was in their power,) easily now resolved to assault the camp in the absence of their horse; and, with this resolution, they marched on Monday the fifteenth of May, within a mile of the enemy; being so destitute of all provisions, that the best officers had but a biscuit a man a day, for two days, the enemy looking upon them as their own.

On Tuesday the sixteenth of May, about five of the clock in the morning, they disposed themselves to their work; having stood in their arms all the night. The number of foot was about two thousand four hundred, which they divided into four parts, and agreed on their several provinces. The first was commanded by the Lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton; who undertook to assault the camp on the south side. Next them, on the left hand, Sir John Berkley and Sir Bevil Greenvil were to force their way. Sir Nicholas Slanning and Colonel Trevannion were to assault the north side; and, on the left hand, Colonel Thomas Basset, who was Major General of their foot, and Colonel William Godolphin were to advance with their party; each party having two pieces of cannon to dispose as they found necessary: Colonel John Digby commanding the horse and dragoons, being about five hundred, stood upon a sandy common which had a way to the camp, to take any advantage he could of the enemy, if they charged; otherwise, to be firm as a reserve.

In this manner the fight begun; the King's forces pressing, with their utmost vigour, those four ways up the hill, and the enemies as obstinately defending their ground. The fight continued with very doubtful success, till towards three of the clock in the afternoon; when word was brought to the chief officers of the Cornish, that their ammunition was spent to less than four barrels of powder; which (concealing the defect from the soldiers) they resolved could be only supplied with courage: and therefore, by messengers to one another, they agreed to advance with their full bodies, without making any more



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shot, till they reached the top of the hill, and so might be upon even ground with the enemy; wherein the officer's courage, and resolution, was so well seconded by the soldier, that they begun to get ground in all places; and the enemy, in wonder of the men, who outfaced their shot with their swords, to quit their post. Major General Chudleigh, who ordered the battle, failed in no part of a soldier; and when he saw his men recoil from less numbers, and the enemy in all places gaining the hill upon him, himself advanced, with a good stand of pikes, upon that party which was led by Sir John Berkley and Sir Bevil Greenvil; and charged them so smartly, that he put them into disorder; Sir Bevil Greenvil, in the shock, being borne to the ground, but quickly relieved by his companion; they so reinforced the charge, that having killed most of the assailants, and dispersed the rest, they took the Major General prisoner, after he had behaved himself with as much courage, as a man could do. Then the enemy gave ground apace, insomuch as the four parties, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended the hill, between three and four of the clock they all met together upon one ground near the top of the hill; where they embraced with unspeakable joy, each congratulating the other's success, and all acknowledging the wonderful blessing of God; and being there possessed of some of the enemy's cannon, they turned them upon the camp, and advanced together to perfect the victory. But the enemy no sooner understood the loss of their Major General, but their hearts failed them; and being so resolutely pressed, and their ground lost, upon the security and advantage whereof they wholly depended, some of them threw down their arms, and others fled; dispersing themselves, and every man shifting for himself: their General, the Earl of Stamford, giving the example, who, (having stood at a safe distance all the time of the battle, environed with all the horse, which in small parties, though it is true their whole number was not above six or seven score, might have done great mischief to the several par-

The Earl is  
beaten near  
Stratton,  
May 16.

ties of foot, who with so much difficulty scaled the steep hill,) as soon as he saw the day lost, and some say sooner, BOOK  
VII. made all imaginable haste to Exeter, to prepare them for the condition they were shortly to expect.

The conquerors, as soon as they had gained the camp, and dispersed the enemy, and after public prayers upon the place, and a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for their deliverance and victory, sent a small party of horse to pursue the enemy for a mile or two; not thinking fit to pursue farther, or with their whole body of horse, lest Sir George should return from Bodmin with his strong body of horse and dragoons, and find them in disorder; but contenting themselves with the victory they had obtained upon the place, which, in substance as well as circumstance, was as signal a one as hath happened to either party since the unhappy distraction; for on the King's party were not lost in all above fourscore men; whereof few were officers, and none above the degree of a captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten men died afterwards of their wounds. On the Parliament side, notwithstanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the assailants, above three hundred were slain on the place, and seventeen hundred taken prisoners, with their Major General, and above thirty other officers. They took likewise all their baggage and tents, all their cannon, being, as was said before, thirteen pieces of brass ordnance, and a brass mortar-piece; all their ammunition, being seventy barrels of powder, and all other sorts of ammunition proportionable, and a very great magazine of biscuit, and other excellent provisions of victuals; which was as seasonable a blessing as the victory, to those who, for three or four days before, had suffered great want of food as well as sleep, and were equally tired with duty and hunger. The army rested that night and the next day at Stratton; all care being taken by express messengers, to disperse the news of their success to all parts of that country, and to guard the passes upon the river Tamar, whereby to hinder the return

BOOK of the enemy's horse and dragoons. But Sir George  
VII. Chudleigh had no sooner, with great triumph, dispersed  
the High Sheriff, and gentlemen, who intended to have  
called the *posse comitatus*, according to their good custom,  
for the assistance of the King's party, and with little resistance entered Bodmin, when he received the fatal news of the loss of their camp and army at Stratton. Upon which, with as much haste and disorder, as so great a consternation could produce among a people not acquainted with the accidents of war, leaving many of his men and horses a prey to the country people, himself, with as many as he could get, and keep together, got into Plymouth; and thence, without interruption or hazard, into Exeter.

The Earl of Stamford, to make his own conduct and misfortune the less censured, industriously spread abroad in all places, and confidently sent the same information to the Parliament, "that he had been betrayed by James Chudleigh; and that, in the heat of the battle, when the hope of the day stood fair, he had voluntarily, with a party, run over to the enemy, and immediately charged the Parliament forces; which begot in all men a general apprehension of treachery, the soldiers fearing their officers, and the officers their soldiers revolt; and thereupon the rout ensued." Whereas the truth is, as he was a young man of excellent parts and courage, he performed the part of a right good commander, both in his orders and his person; and was taken prisoner in the body of his enemy, whither he had charged with undaunted courage, when there was no other expedient in reason left. But this scandal so without colour cast on him, and entertained with more credit than his services had merited, (for, from the time of his engagement to the Parliament, he had served not only with full ability, but with notable success, and was the only man that had given any interruption to the prosperity of the Cornish army, and in a night-skirmish, at Bradock Down near Okington, struck a great terror into them, and disordered them more than they were at any other time,) wrought so far upon the



young man, together with the kind usage and reception he found as a prisoner among the chief officers, who loved him as a gallant enemy, and one like to do the King good service if he were recovered to his loyalty, that after he had been prisoner about ten days, he freely declared, "that he was convinced in his conscience and judgment "of the errors he had committed;" and, upon promise made to him of the King's pardon, frankly offered to join with them in his Majesty's service; and so gave some countenance to the reproach that was first most injuriously cast upon him.

The truth is, he was of too good an understanding, and too much generosity in his nature, to be affected to the cause which he served, or to comply with those arts, which he saw practised to carry it on; and having a command in Ireland when the war first broke out, he came thence into England, with a purpose to serve the King; and to that end, shortly after his Majesty's coming to Oxford, he came thither to tender his service: but he found the eyes of most men fixed upon him with prejudice and jealousy there, both for his family's sake, which was notoriously disaffected to the King, and for some errors of his own, in that plot, that was so much spoken of, to bring up the northern army to awe the Parliament; in which business, being then a very young man, and of a stirring spirit, and desirous of a name, he had expressed much zeal to the King's service, and been busy in inclining the army to engage in such petitions and undertakings, as were not gracious to the Parliament. But when that discovery was made by Mr. Goring, as is before remembered, and a committee appointed to examine the combination, this gentleman, wrought upon by hopes, or fears, in his examination, said much that was disadvantageous to the Court, and therefore, bringing no other testimony with him to Oxford, but of his own conscience, he received nothing like countenance there; whereupon he returned to London, sufficiently incensed that he was neglected; and was quickly entertained for their western employ-

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ment, where his nearest friends were thoroughly engaged. But after this defeat, his former passion being allayed, and his observation and experience convincing him, that the designs of the Parliament were not such as were pretended, he resigned himself to those who first conquered him with force, and then with reason and civility; and, no doubt, was much wrought upon by the discipline and integrity of the forces, by whom he had been subdued; and with the piety, temper, and sobriety of the chief commanders, which indeed was most exemplary, and worthy the cause for which they were engaged; the reputation and conscience whereof had alone carried them through the difficulties and straits, with which they were to contend.

This army, willing to relieve their friends of Cornwall, from the burden which they sustained so patiently, hastened their march into Devonshire, not thoroughly resolved whether to attack Plymouth, or Exeter, or both; when advertisement came to them, by an express from Oxford, "that the King had sent Prince Maurice, and the " Marquis of Hertford, with a very good body of horse, to " join with them; and that they were advanced towards " them as far as Somersetshire; and that Sir William " Waller was designed by the Parliament, to visit the " West, with a new army, which would relieve a good re- " cuit from those who escaped from the battle of Strat- " ton:" so that it was necessary for all the King's forces in those parts to be united in a body, as soon as might be: hereupon it was quickly resolved to leave such a party at Saltash and Milbrook, as might defend faithful Cornwall from any incursions of Plymouth, and with their army to march eastward; their number increasing daily upon the reputation of their new wonderful victory; many volunteers coming to them out of Devonshire, and very many of their prisoners professing, they had been seduced, and freely offering to serve the King against those who had wronged both; who, being entertained under some of their own converted officers, behaved themselves after-

wards with great honesty and courage. And so making no longer stay by the way, than was necessary for the refreshing of their troops, the Cornish army, for that was the style it now carried, marched by Exeter, where the Earl of Stamford, with a sufficient garrison, then was; and staying only two or three days to fix small garrisons, whereby that town, full of fear and apprehension, might be kept from having too great an influence upon so populous a county, advanced to Tiverton, where a regiment of foot of the Parliament, under Colonel Ware, a gentleman of that country, had fixed themselves; hoping Sir William Waller would be as soon with them for their relief, as the Cornish would be to force them; which regiment being easily dispersed, they stayed there to expect new orders from the Marquis of Hertford.

When the loss of Reading was well digested, and the King understood the declining condition of the Earl of Essex's army, and that he would either not be able to advance, or not in such a manner, as would give him much trouble at Oxford; and hearing in what prosperous state his hopeful party in Cornwall stood, whither the Parliament was making all haste to send Sir William Waller, to check their good success; his Majesty resolved to send the Marquis of Hertford into those parts, the rather because there were many of the prime gentlemen of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, who confidently undertook, if the Marquis went through those counties, with such a strength as they supposed the King would spare to him, they would in a very short time raise so considerable a power, as to oppose any force the Parliament should be able to send. When the Marquis was ready for his journey, news arrived of the great victory at Stratton; so that there was no danger in the Marquis's being able to join with that little Cornish army; and then there would appear indeed a visible body worthy the name of an army. This put some persons upon desiring, that Prince Maurice (who was yet in no other quality of command,



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than of a private colonel of horse, but had always behaved himself with great courage and vigilance) might be likewise disposed into a command of that army. Hereupon the King assigned him, and his Highness willingly accepted to be Lieutenant General under the Marquis; who for many reasons, besides that he was actually possessed of it, was thought fit to have the superior power over those western counties, where his fortune lay, and the estimation and reverence of the people to him was very great. So the Prince and the Marquis, with Prince Maurice's, and the Earl of Carnarvon's, and Colonel Thomas Howard's regiments of horse (the Earl being General of the cavalry) advanced into the West; and staying only some few days at Salisbury, and after in Dorsetshire, whilst some new regiments of horse and foot, which were levying by the gentlemen in those parts, came up to them, made all convenient haste into Somersetshire, being desirous to join with the Cornish as soon as might be; presuming they should be then best able to perfect their new levies, when they were out of apprehension of being disturbed by a more powerful force. For Sir William Waller was already marched out of London, and used not to stay longer by the way than was unavoidably necessary.

In the Marquis's first entrance into the West, he had an unspeakable loss, and the King's service a far greater, by the death of Mr. Rogers, a gentleman of a rare temper, and excellent understanding; who, besides that he had a great interest in the Marquis, being his cousin-german, and so, out of that private relation, as well as zeal to the public, passionately inclined to advance the service, had a wonderful great influence upon the county of Dorset, for which he served as one of the Knights in Parliament; and had so well designed all things there, that Poole and Lyme, (two port towns in that county, which gave the King afterwards much trouble,) if he had lived, had been undoubtedly reduced. But by his death all those hopes were cancelled, the surviving gentry of that shire being,

how well affected soever, so unactive, that the progress, that was that year made there to the King's advantage, owed little to their assistance. BOOK  
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About the middle of June, Prince Maurice, and the Marquis, with sixteen or seventeen hundred horse, and about one thousand new levied foot, and seven or eight field-pieces, came to Chard, a fair town in Somersetshire, nearest the edge of Devonshire; where, according to order, they were met by the Cornish army; which consisted of above three thousand excellent foot, five hundred horse, and three hundred dragoons, with four or five field-pieces; so that, officers and all, being joined, they might well pass for an army of seven thousand men; with an excellent train of artillery, and a very fair proportion of ammunition of all sorts, and so good a reputation, that they might well promise themselves a quick increase of their numbers. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the chief officers of the Cornish had not been much superior to that of their common soldiers, who valued themselves high, as the men whose courage had alone vindicated the King's cause in the West, there might have been greater disorder at their first joining, than could easily have been composed. For how small soever the Marquis's party was in numbers, it was supplied with all the General Officers of a royal army, a General, Lieutenant General, General of the horse, General of the ordnance, a Major General of horse, and another of foot, without keeping suitable commands for those who had done all that was past, and were to be principally relied on for what was to come. So that the chief officers of the Cornish army, by joining with a much less party than themselves, were at best in the condition of private colonels. Yet the same public thoughts still so absolutely prevailed with them, that they quieted all murmurings and emulations among inferior officers, and common soldiers; and were, with equal candour and estimation, valued by the Prince and Marquis, who bethought them-

The Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice, with their forces, join the Cornish army at Chard.

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selves of all expedients, which might prevent any future misunderstanding.

Taunton was the first place they resolved to visit, being one of the fairest, largest, and richest towns in Somersetshire; but withal as eminently affected to the Parliament, where they had now a garrison; but they had not yet the same courage they recovered afterwards: for the army was no sooner drawn near the town, the head quarters being at Orchard, a house of the Portmans, two miles from the town, but the town sent two of their substantial inhabitants to treat; which, though nothing was concluded, struck that terror into the garrison, (the prisoners in the castle, whereof many were men of good fortunes, imprisoned there as Malignants, at the same time raising some commotion there,) that the garrison fled out of the town to Bridgewater, being a less town, but of a much stronger situation; and, with the same panic fear, the next day, from thence; so that the Marquis was possessed, in three days, of Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunstar castle, so much stronger than both the other, that it could not have been forced; yet by the dexterity of Francis Windham, who wrought upon the fears of the owner and master of it, Mr. Lutterel, was, with as little bloodshed as the other, delivered up to the King; into which the Marquis put him, that took it, as Governor; as he well deserved.

The government of Taunton he committed to Sir John Stawell, a gentleman of a very great estate in those parts; who, from the beginning, had heartily and personally engaged himself and his children for the King; and was in the first form of those who had made themselves obnoxious to the Parliament. The other government, of Bridgewater, was conferred upon Edmund Windham, High Sheriff of the county, being a gentleman of a fortune near the place, and of a good personal courage, and unquestionable affection to the cause. The army stayed about Taunton seven or eight days, for the settling those garrisons, and to receive advertisements of the motion or station of the ene-



my; in which time they lost much of the credit and reputation they had with the country. For whereas the chief commanders of the Cornish army had restrained their soldiers from all manner of licence, obliging them to solemn and frequent actions of devotion, insomuch as the fame of their religion and discipline was no less than of their courage, and thereupon Sir Ralph Hopton (who was generally considered as the General of that army, though it was governed by such a commission as is before remembered) was greedily expected in his own country, where his reputation was second to no man's; the horse, that came now with the Marquis, having lived under a loose discipline, and coming now into plentiful quarters, unvisited by an army, eminent for their disaffection, were disorderly enough to give the enemy credit in laying more to their charge than they deserved; and by their licence hindered those orderly levies, which should have brought in a supply of money, for the regular payment of the army. This extravagancy produced another mischief, some jealousy, or shadow of it, between the Lord Marquis and Prince Maurice; the first, as being better versed in the policy of peace, than in the mysteries of war, desiring to regulate the soldier, and to restrain him from using any licence upon the country; and the Prince being thought so wholly to incline to the soldier, that he neglected any consideration of the country, and not without some design of drawing the sole dependence of the soldier upon himself. But here were the seeds rather sown of dislike, than any visible disinclination produced; for after they had settled the garrisons before mentioned, they advanced, with unity and alacrity, eastward, to find out the enemy, which was gathered together in a considerable body, within less than twenty miles of them.

Whilst so much time was spent at Oxford, to prepare the supplies for the West, and in settling the manner of sending them; which might have been done much sooner, and with less noise; the Parliament foresaw, that if all the West were recovered from them, their quarters would by

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degrees be so straitened, that their other friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had still all the western ports at their devotion, those in Cornwall only excepted; and their fleets had always great benefit by it. And though most of the gentry were engaged against them, as they were in truth in many parts throughout the kingdom, yet the common people, especially in the clothing parts of Somersetshire, were generally too much inclined to them. So that they could not want men, if they sent a body of horse, and some arms, to countenance them; with the last of which they had sufficiently stored the sea-towns which were in their hands. And therefore they resolved, that, though they could not easily recruit their army, they would send some troops of horse, and dragoons, into the West, to keep up the spirits of their friends there. And for the conduct of this service, they made choice of Sir William Waller, a member of the House of Commons, and a gentleman of a family in Kent.

The Parliament sent Sir William Waller into the West with an army.

Sir William Waller had been well bred; and, having spent some years abroad, and some time in the armies there, returned with a good reputation home; and shortly after, having married a young lady, who was to inherit a good fortune in the West, he had a quarrel with a gentleman of the same family, who had the honour to be a menial servant to the King in a place near his person; which, in that time, was attended with privilege and respect from all men. These two gentlemen discoursing with some warmth together, Sir William Waller received such provocation from the other, that he struck him a blow over the face, so near the gate of Westminster-hall, that there were witnesses, who swore, "that it was in the hall itself," the courts being then sitting; which, according to the rigour of law, makes it very penal; and the credit the other had in the Court made the prosecution to be very severe; insomuch as he was at last compelled to redeem himself at a dear ransom; the benefit whereof was conferred on his adversary, which made the sense of it the more grievous: and this produced in him so eager a spirit against the



Court, that he was very open to any temptation, that might engage him against it; and so concurring in the House of Commons with all those counsels which were most violent, he was employed in their first military action, for the reducing of Portsmouth; which he effected with great ease, as is remembered before: and when the Earl of Essex had put the army into winter quarters, he had with some troops made a cavalcade or two into the West, so fortunately, that he had not only beat up some loose quarters, but had surprised a fixed and fortified quarter, made by the Lord Herbert of Ragland near Gloucester; in which he took above twelve hundred prisoners, with all the officers; being a number very little inferior to his own party; which is likewise particularly remembered before. So that he got great reputation with the Parliament and the city; and was there called William the Conqueror. And it is very true, that they who looked upon the Earl of Essex as a man that would not keep them company to the end of their journey, had their eyes upon Sir William Waller, as a man more for their turn; and were desirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipse the other. And therefore they prepared all things for his march with so great expedition and secrecy, that the Marquis of Hertford was no sooner joined to the Cornish troops, (in which time Bridgewater, and Dunstar, and some other places, were reduced from the Parliament,) before he was informed that Sir William Waller was within two days' march of him, and was more like to draw supplies to him from Bristol, and the parts adjacent, which were under the Parliament, than the Marquis could from the open country; and therefore it was held most counsellable to advance, and engage him, whilst he was not yet too strong; and by this means they should continue still their march towards Oxford; which they were now inclined to do.

Though Sir William Waller himself continued still at Bath, yet the remainder of those horse and dragoons that escaped out of Cornwall, after the battle of Stratton, and such other as were sent out of Exeter for their ease, when



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they apprehended a siege, and those soldiers who fled out of Taunton and Bridgewater, and other regiments of the country, were by Alexander Popham, Strode, and the other Deputy Lieutenants of the militia for Somerset, rallied; and with the Trained Bands, and volunteer regiments of the country, drawn together, with that confidence, that when the Marquis had taken up his head quarters at Somerton, the enemy, before break of day, fell upon a regiment of dragoons, quartered a mile eastward from the town; and gave so brisk an alarm to the King's army, that it was immediately drawn out, and advanced upon the enemy, (being the first they had seen make any stand before them, since the battle of Stratton,) who making stands upon the places of advantage, and maintaining little skirmishes in the rear, retired in no ill order to Wells; and the King's forces still pursuing, they chose to quit that city likewise; and drew their whole body, appearing in number as considerable as their pursuers, to the top of a hill, called Mendip Hill, overlooking the city of Wells, which they had left. The day being far spent, and the march having been long, the Marquis, with all the foot, and train, stayed at Wells; but Prince Maurice, and the Earl of Carnarvon, with Sir Ralph Hopton, and Sir John Berkley, and two regiments of horse, resolved to look upon the enemy on the top of the hill; who suffered them, without interruption, to gain the top of the hill level with them, and then, in a very orderly manner, facing with a large front of their horse, to give their foot and baggage leisure and security, retired together as the Prince advanced. This, and the natural contempt the King's horse yet had of the enemy, which in all skirmishes and charges had been hitherto beaten by them, made the Prince judge this to be but a more graceful running away; and therefore followed them farther, over those large hills, till the enemy, who were anon to pass through a lane, and a village called Chewton, were compelled, before their entrance into the lane, to leave their reserve; which faced about much thinner than it was over the hill: which opportunity and advantage was

no sooner discerned, as it had been foreseen, but the Earl of Carnarvon (who always charged home) with an incomparable gallantry charged the enemy, and pressed them so hard, that he entered the lane with them, and routed the whole body of their horse, and followed the execution of them above two miles.

But this was like to have been a dear success; for Sir William Waller, who lay with his new army at Bath, and had drawn to him a good supply out of the garrison at Bristol, had directed this body which was in Somerset, to retire before the King's forces till they should join with him, who had sent a fresh, strong party of horse and dragoons, to assist their retreat; which, by the advantage of a hedge, had marched without being discovered: so that the Earl of Carnarvon, being a stranger in the country and the ways, pursued the enemy into Sir William Waller's quarters, and till himself was pressed by a fresh body of horse and dragoons; when he was necessitated to retire in as good order as he could; and sent the Prince, who followed him, word of the danger which attended them. His Highness hereupon, with what haste he could, drew back through the village; choosing rather, with very good reason, to attend the enemy in the plain heath, than to be engaged in a narrow passage: thither the Earl of Carnarvon with his regiment came to him, broken and chased by the enemy; who immediately drew up a large front of horse and dragoons, much stronger than the Prince's party, who had only his own, and the Earl of Carnarvon's regiments, with some gentlemen volunteers. The strait, and necessity he was in, was very great; for as he might seem much too weak to charge them, so the danger might probably be much greater to retire over these fair hills, being pursued with a fresh party much superior in number. Therefore he took a gallant resolution, to give the enemy a brisk charge with his own regiment upon their advance, whilst the Earl rallied his, and prepared to second him, as there should be occasion. This was as soon and fortunately executed as resolved; the Prince in the head of the



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regiment charging so vigorously, that he utterly broke and routed that part of the front that received the impression; But almost half the enemy's horse, that, being extended larger than his front, were not charged, wheeled about, and charged the Prince in the rear; and at the same time the Earl of Carnarvon, with his rallied regiment, charged their rear; and all this so thoroughly performed, that they were mingled one among the other, and the good sword was to decide the controversy, their pistols being spent in the close. The Prince himself received two shrewd hurts in his head, and was beaten off his horse; but he was presently relieved, and carried off; and the enemy totally routed, and pursued again by the Earl of Carnarvon; who had a fair execution upon them, as long as the light countenanced his chase, and then he returned to the head quarters at Wells; there having been in these skirmishes threescore or fourscore men lost on the Prince's party, and three times that number by the enemy; the action being too quick to take many prisoners.

At Wells the army rested many days, as well to recover the Prince's wounds, being only cuts with swords, as to consult what was next to be done; for they were now within distance of an enemy that they knew would fight with them. For Sir William Waller was at Bath with his whole army, much increased by those who were chased out of the West; and resolved not to advance, having all advantages of provisions, and passes, till a new supply, he every day expected from London, were arrived with him. On the other side, the Marquis was not only to provide to meet with so vigilant an enemy, but to secure himself at his rear, that the disaffection of the people behind him, who were only subdued, not converted, upon the advance of Sir William Waller, might not take fresh courage. Though Cornwall was reasonably secured, to keep off any impression upon itself from Plymouth, yet Devonshire was left in a very unsafe posture: there being only a small party at Columb-John, a house of Sir John Ackland's, three miles off Exeter, to control the power of that city,



where the Earl of Stamford was; and to dispute not only with any commotion that might happen in the country, but with any power that might arrive by sea. Upon these considerations, and the intelligence, that the Parliament had sent directions to the Earl of Warwick their Admiral, “to attend the Devonshire coast with his fleet, and take “any advantage he could,” the Marquis, by the advice of the council of war, sent Sir John Berkley back into Devonshire, with Colonel Howard’s regiment of horse, to command the forces which were then there, and to raise what numbers more he could possibly, for the blocking up that city, and reducing the county; and upon his arrival there, to send up to the army Sir James Hamilton’s regiment of horse and dragoons; which had been left in Devonshire; and, by the licence they took, weakened the King’s party; so that, by sending this relief thither, he did not lessen at all his own numbers, yet gave great strength to the reducing those parts, as appeared afterwards by their success.

After this disposition, and eight or ten days’ rest at Wells, the army generally expressing a cheerful impatience to meet with the enemy, of which, at that time, they had a greater contempt, than in reason they should have; the Prince and Marquis advanced to Frome, and thence to Bradford, within four miles of Bath. And now no day passed without action, and very sharp skirmishes; Sir William Waller having received from London a fresh regiment of five hundred horse, under the command of Sir Arthur Haslerig: which were so completely armed, that they were called by the other side the regiment of Lobsters, because of their bright iron shells, with which they were covered, being perfect cuirassiers; and were the first seen so armed on either side, and the first that made any impression upon the King’s horse; who, being unarmed, were not able to bear a shock with them; besides that they were secure from hurts of the sword, which were almost the only weapons the other were furnished with.

The contention was hitherto with parties; in which the

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successes were various, and almost with equal losses : for as Sir William Waller, upon the first advance from Wells, beat up a regiment of horse and dragoons of Sir James Hamilton's, and dispersed them ; so, within two days, the King's forces beat a party of his from a pass near Bath, where the enemy lost two field-pieces, and near an hundred men. But Sir William Waller had the advantage in his ground, having a good city, well furnished with provisions, to quarter his army together in ; and so in his choice not to fight, but upon extraordinary advantage. Whereas the King's forces must either disperse themselves, and so give the enemy advantage upon their quarters, or, keeping near together, lodge in the field, and endure great distress of provision ; the country being so disaffected, that only force could bring in any supply or relief. Hereupon, after several attempts to engage the enemy to a battle upon equal terms, which, having the advantage, he wisely avoided ; the Marquis and Prince Maurice advanced with their whole body to Marsfield, five miles beyond Bath towards Oxford ; presuming, that, by this means, they should draw the enemy from their place of advantage, his chief business being to hinder them from joining with the King. And if they had been able to preserve that temper, and had neglected the enemy, till he had quitted his advantages, it is probable they might have fought upon as good terms as they desired. But the unreasonable contempt they had of the enemy, and confidence they should prevail in any ground, together with the straits they endured for want of provisions, and their want of ammunition, which was spent as much in the daily hedge-skirmishes, and upon their guards, being so near as could have been in battle, would not admit the patience ; for Sir William Waller, who was not to suffer that body to join with the King, no sooner drew out his whole army to Lansdown, which looked towards Marsfield, but they suffered themselves to be engaged upon great disadvantage.

The battle  
of Lans-  
down, July  
5.

It was upon the fifth of July when Sir William Waller, as soon as it was light, possessed himself of that hill ; and



after he had, upon the brow of the hill over the high way, raised breast-works with fagots and earth, and planted cannon there, he sent a strong party of horse towards Marsfield, which quickly alarmed the other army, and was shortly driven back to their body. As great a mind as the King's forces had to cope with the enemy, when they had drawn into battalia, and found the enemy fixed on the top of the hill, they resolved not to attack them upon so great disadvantage; and so retired again towards their old quarters: which Sir William Waller perceiving, sent his whole body of horse and dragoons down the hill, to charge the rear and flank of the King's forces; which they did throughly, the regiment of cuirassiers so amazing the horse they charged, that they totally routed them; and, standing firm and unshaken themselves, gave so great terror to the King's horse, who had never before turned from an enemy, that no example of their officers, who did their parts with invincible courage, could make them charge with the same confidence, and in the same manner they had usually done. However, in the end, after Sir Nicholas Slanning, with three hundred musketeers, had fallen upon and beaten their reserve of dragooners, Prince Maurice and the Earl of Carnarvon, rallying their horse, and winging them with the Cornish musketeers, charged the enemy's horse again, and totally routed them; and in the same manner received two bodies more, and routed and chased them to the hill; where they stood in a place almost inaccessible. On the brow of the hill there were breast-works, on which were pretty bodies of small shot, and some cannon; on either flank grew a pretty thick wood towards the declining of the hill, in which strong parties of musketeers were placed; at the rear was a very fair plain, where the reserves of horse and foot stood ranged; yet the Cornish foot were so far from being appalled at this disadvantage, that they desired to fall on, and cried out, "that they might have leave to fetch off those cannon." In the end, order was given to attempt the hill with horse and foot. Two strong parties of mus-



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keteers were sent into the woods, which flanked the enemy; and the horse and other musketeers up the road way, which were charged by the enemy's horse, and routed; then Sir Bevil Greenvil advanced with a party of horse, on his right hand, that ground being best for them; and his musketeers on the left; himself leading up his pikes in the middle; and in the face of their cannon, and small-shot from the breast-works, gained the brow of the hill, having sustained two full charges of the enemy's horse; but in the third charge his horse failing, and giving ground, he received, after other wounds, a blow on the head with a pole-axe, with which he fell, and many of his officers about him; yet the musketeers fired so fast upon the enemy's horse, that they quitted their ground, and the two wings, who were sent to clear the woods, having done their work, and gained those parts of the hill, at the same time beat off their enemy's foot, and became possessed of the breast-works; and so made way for their whole body of horse, foot, and cannon, to ascend the hill; which they quickly did, and planted themselves on the ground they had won; the enemy retiring about demi-culverin shot behind a stone wall upon the same level, and standing in reasonable good order.

Either party was sufficiently tired, and battered, to be contented to stand still. The King's horse were so shaken, that of two thousand which were upon the field in the morning, there were not above six hundred on the top of the hill. The enemy was exceedingly scattered too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with those who had beaten them from the hill; so that, exchanging only some shot from their ordnance, they looked one upon another till the night interposed. About twelve of the clock, it being very dark, the enemy made a shew of moving towards the ground they had lost; but giving a smart volley of small-shot, and finding themselves answered with the like, they made no more noise: which the Prince observing, he sent a common soldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could; who brought word,

“that the enemy had left lighted matches in the wall behind which they had lain, and were drawn off the field ;” which was true ; so that, as soon as it was day, the King’s army found themselves possessed entirely of the field, and the dead, and all other ensigns of victory : Sir William Waller being marched to Bath, in so much disorder and apprehension, that he left great store of arms, and ten barrels of powder, behind him ; which was a very seasonable supply to the other side, who had spent in that day’s service no less than fourscore barrels, and had not a safe proportion left.

In this battle, on the King’s part, there were more officers and gentlemen of quality slain, than common men ; and more hurt than slain. That which would have clouded any victory, and made the loss of others less spoken of, was the death of Sir Bevil Greenvil. He was indeed an excellent person, whose activity, interest, and reputation, was the foundation of what had been done in Cornwall ; and his temper and affections so public, that no accident which happened could make any impressions in him ; and his example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter courage, and a gentler disposition, were never married together to make the most cheerful and innocent conversation.

Sir Bevil  
Greenvil  
slain.

Very many officers and persons of quality were hurt ; as the Lord Arundel of Wardour, shot in the thigh with a brace of pistol bullets ; Sir Ralph Hopton, shot through the arm with a musket ; Sir George Vaughan, and many others, hurt in the head of their troops with swords and pole-axes ; of which none of name died. But the morning added much to the melancholy of their victory, when the field was entirely their own. For Sir Ralph Hopton riding up and down the field to visit the hurt men, and to put the soldiers in order, and readiness for motion, sitting on his horse, with other officers and soldiers about him, near a waggon of ammunition, in which were eight barrels of powder ; whether by treachery, or mere accident, is uncertain, the powder was blown up ; and many, who stood

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nearest, killed; and many more maimed; among whom Sir Ralph Hopton and Serjeant Major Sheldon were miserably hurt; of which, Major Sheldon, who was thought to be in less danger than the other, died the next day, to the general grief of the whole army, where he was wonderfully beloved, as a man of an undaunted courage, and as great gentleness of nature. Sir Ralph Hopton, having hardly so much life, as not to be numbered with the dead, was put into a litter, and then the army marched to their old quarters at Marsfield; exceedingly cast down with their morning's misfortune, (Sir Ralph Hopton being indeed the soldiers' darling,) where they reposed themselves the next day, principally in care of Sir Ralph Hopton, who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit to travel. In this time many of the horse, which had been routed in the morning, before the hill was won, found the way to Oxford; and, according to the custom of those who run away, reported all to be lost, with many particular accidents, which they fancied very like to happen when they left the field; but the next day brought a punctual advertisement from the Marquis, but, withal, a desire of a regiment or two of fresh horse, and a supply of ammunition; whereupon the Earl of Crawford with his regiment of horse, consisting of near five hundred, was directed to advance that way, with such a proportion of ammunition as was desired.

After a day's rest at Marsfield, it being understood that Sir William Waller was still at Bath, (his army having been rather surprised and discomforted with the incredible boldness of the Cornish foot, than much weakened by the number slain, which was no greater than on the King's part,) and that he had sent for fresh supply from Bristol; it was concluded, rather to march to Oxford, and so to join with the King's army, than to stay and attend the enemy, who was so near his supplies: and so they marched towards Chippenham. But when Sir William Waller had intelligence of the blowing up of the powder, of which he well knew there was scarcely enough before, and of the



hurt it had done, he infused new spirit into his men; and verily believed that they had no ammunition, and that the loss of Sir Ralph Hopton (whom the people took to be the soul of that army, the other names being not so much spoken of, or so well known, and at this time believed to be dead) would be found in the spirits of the soldiers; and having gotten some fresh men from Bristol, and more from the inclinations of the three counties of Wilts, Gloucester, and Somerset, which joined about Bath, in the most absolute disaffected parts of all three, he followed the Marquis towards Chippenham; to which he was as near from Bath, as the other from Marsfield.

The next day, early in the morning, upon notice that the enemy was in distance, the Prince and the Marquis drew back the army through Chippenham, and presented themselves in battalia to the enemy; being very well contented to fight in such a place, where the success was to depend more on their foot, who were unquestionably excellent, than on their horse, which were at best weary, though their officers were, to envy, forward and resolute. But Sir William Waller, who was a right good chooser of advantages, liked not that ground; relying as much upon his horse, who had gotten credit and courage, and as little upon his foot, who were only well armed, and well bodied, very vulgarly spirited, and officered: so that having stood all night in battalia, and the enemy not coming on, the Prince and Marquis, the next day, advanced towards the Devizes; Sir Nicholas Slanning, with great spirit and prudence, securing the rear with strong parties of musketeers; with which he gave the enemy, who pressed upon them very smartly, so much interruption, that Sir William Waller, despairing of overtaking, sent a trumpet to the Marquis, with a letter, offering a pitched field at a place of his own choosing, out of the way. The which being easily understood to be only a stratagem to beget a delay in the march, the Marquis carried the trumpet three or four miles with him, and then sent him back with such an answer as was fit. There were, all this day, perpetual and

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sharp skirmishes in the rear; the enemy pressing very hard, and being always with loss repulsed, till the army safely reached the Devizes.

Then the case was altered for their retreat to Oxford, the enemy being upon them with improvement of courage, and improvement of numbers; Sir William Waller having dispersed his warrants over the country, signifying "that he had beaten the Marquis," and requiring the people "to rise in all places for the apprehension of his scattered and dispersed troops;" which confidence, men conceived, could not proceed from less than a manifest victory; and so they flocked to him as the master of the field. The foot were no more now to make the retreat, the situation of the place they were now in, being such as they could move no way towards Oxford, but over a campaign of many miles, where the stronger in horse must needs prevail.

Hereupon, it was unanimously advised, and consented to, that the Lord Marquis and Prince Maurice should that night break through, with all the horse, to Oxford; and that Sir Ralph Hopton (who, by this, was supposed past danger of death, and could hear and speak well enough, though he could not see or stir) with the Earl of Marlborough, who was General of the artillery, the Lord Mohn, and other good officers of foot, should stay there with their foot and cannon, where it was hoped they might defend themselves, for a few days, till the General might return with relief from Oxford; which was not above thirty miles off. This resolution was pursued; and, the same night, all the horse got safe away into the King's quarters, and the Prince and Marquis, in the morning, came to Oxford; by which time Sir William Waller had drawn all his forces about the Devizes. The town was open, without the least fortification or defence, but small ditches and hedges; upon which the foot were placed, and some pieces of cannon conveniently planted. The avenues, which were many, were quickly barricadoed to hinder the entrance of the horse, which was principally apprehended.



Sir William Waller had soon notice of the remove of the horse; and therefore, intending that pursuit no farther, he brought his whole force close to the town, and beleaguered it round; and having raised a battery upon a hill near the town, he poured in his shot upon it without intermission, and attempted to enter in several other places with horse, foot, and cannon; but was in all places more resolutely resisted, and repulsed. At the same time, having intelligence (as his intelligence was always most exact in whatsoever concerned him) of the Earl of Crawford's marching with a supply of powder, according to order, after the first battle of Lansdown, he sent a strong party of horse and dragoons to intercept him; who, before he knew of the alterations which had happened, and of the remove of the horse towards Oxford, was so far engaged, that he hardly escaped with the loss of his ammunition, and a troop or two of his horse.

Upon this improvement of his success, Sir William Waller reckoned his victory out of question; and thereupon sent a trumpet into the town to summon the besieged, to let them know, "that he had cut off their relief, " and that their state was now desperate; and therefore " advised them to submit themselves to the Parliament, " with whom he would mediate on their behalf." They in the town were not sorry for the overture; not that they apprehended it would produce any conditions they should accept, but that they might gain some time of rest by it: for the straits they were in were too great for any minds not prepared to preserve their honour at any rates. When the enemy came first before the town, and the guards were supplied with ammunition for their duty, there was but one hundred and fifty weight of match left in the store; whereupon diligent officers were directed to search every house in the town, and to take all the bed-cords they could find, and to cause them to be speedily beaten, and boiled. By this sudden expedient, there was, by the next morning, provided fifteen hundred weight of such serviceable match, as very well endured that sharp service. The



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compass of the ground they were to keep was so large, and the enemy pressed so hard upon all places, that their whole body were upon perpetual duty together, neither officer or soldier having any time for rest; and the activity of the chief officers was most necessary to keep up the courage of the common men, who well enough understood the danger they were in, and therefore they were very glad of this message; and returned, "that they would send an officer to treat, if a cessation were agreed to during the time of the treaty;" which was consented to, if it were suddenly expedited.

On the party of the besieged were proposed such terms, as might take up most time in the debate, and might imply courage and resolution to hold out. Sir William Waller, on the other hand, offered only quarter, and civil usage to the officers, and leave to the common soldiers to return to their houses without their arms, except they would voluntarily choose to serve the Parliament. These being terms many of the officers would not have submitted to in the last extreme, the treaty ended; after those in the town had gained what they only looked for, seven or eight hours' sleep, and so long time sparing of ammunition. The truth is, Sir William Waller was so confident that they were at his mercy, that he had written to the Parliament, "that their work was done, and that, by the next post, he would send the number and quality of his prisoners;" neither did he imagine it possible that any relief could have been sent from Oxford; the Earl of Essex, to whom he had signified his success, and the posture he was in, lying with his whole army at Thame, within ten miles of it. But the importance was too well understood by the King to omit any thing, that might, with the utmost hazard, be attempted for the redeeming those men, who had wrought such wonders for him. And therefore, as soon as the Marquis and Prince arrived at Oxford, with the sad and unexpected news, and relation of the distress of their friends, though the Queen was then on her march towards Oxford, and the King had appointed to meet her two days'

journey for her security, his Majesty resolved to take only his own guards of horse, and Prince Rupert's regiment, for that expedition; and sent the Lord Wilmot with all the rest of the horse, to march that very day, in which the advertisement came to him, towards the Devizes; so that the Marquis and the Prince coming to Oxford on the Monday morning, the Lord Wilmot, that night, moved towards the work; and Prince Maurice returning with him as a volunteer, but the Lord Wilmot commanding in chief, appeared, on the Wednesday about noon, upon the plain within two miles of the town.

The Lord Wilmot had with him fifteen hundred horse, and no more, and two small field-pieces, which he shot off, to give the town notice of his coming; having it in his hopes, that, it being a fair campaign about the town, when the enemy should rise from before it, he should be able in spite of them to join with the foot, and so to have a fair field for it; which would be still disadvantageous enough, the enemy being superior by much in horse, very few of those who had broken away from the Devizes (except the Prince himself, the Earl of Carnarvon, and some other officers) being come up with them, because they were tired, and dispersed. The enemy, careful to prevent the joining of this party of horse with the foot, and fully advertised of their coming, drew off, on all parts, from the town; and put themselves in battalia upon the top of a fair hill, called Roundway Down; over which the King's forces were necessarily to march, being full two miles off the town: they within conceived it hardly possible, that the relief, they expected from Oxford, could so soon arrive; all the messengers, who were sent to give notice of it, having miscarried by the closeness of the siege; and therefore suspected the warning pieces from the plain, and the drawing off the town by the enemy, to be a stratagem to cozen the foot from those posts they defended, into the open field; and so, very reasonably, being in readiness to march, they waited a surer evidence, that their friends

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 VII. “that the Prince was near, and expected them.”

It will be easily conceived, with what alacrity they advanced to meet him; but Sir William Waller had purposely chose that ground to hinder that conjunction, and advanced so fast on the Lord Wilmot, that without such removes and traverses, as might give his men some apprehension, that Lord could not expect the foot from the town; and therefore he put his troops in order upon that ground to expect the enemy's charge, who were somewhat more than musket-shot off in order of battle.

Here Sir William Waller, out of pure gaiety, departed from an advantage he could not again recover; for being in excellent order of battle, with strong wings of horse to his foot, and a good reserve placed, and his cannon usefully planted, apprehending still the conjunction between the horse and the foot in the town, and gratifying his enemy with the same contempt, which had so often brought inconveniences upon them, and discerning their number inferior to that he had before (as he thought) mastered, he marched, with his whole body of horse, from his foot, to charge the enemy; appointing Sir Arthur Haslerig with his cuirassiers apart, to make the first impression; who was encountered by Sir John Byron, in whose regiment the Earl of Carnarvon charged as a volunteer; and after a sharp conflict, in which Sir Arthur Haslerig received many wounds, that impenetrable regiment was routed, and, in a full career, chased upon their other horse. At the same time, the Lord Wilmot charging them from division to division, as they were ranged, in half an hour, so sudden alterations the accidents of war introduce, the whole entire body of the triumphant horse were so totally routed and dispersed, that there was not one of them to be seen upon that large spacious down; every man shifting for himself with greater danger by the precipices of that hill, than he could have undergone by opposing his pursuer. But as it was an unhappy ground

The battle  
 of Round-  
 way Down,  
 wherein Sir  
 William  
 Waller is  
 routed.



to fly, so it was as ill for the pursuer ; and after the rout, more perished by falls and bruises from their horses, down the precipices, than by the sword. The foot stood still firm, making shew of a gallant resistance ; but the Lord Wilmot quickly seized their cannon, and turned them upon them, at the same time that the Cornish foot, who were by this come from the town, were ready likewise to charge them ; upon which their hearts failed ; and so they were charged on all sides, and either killed, or taken prisoners, very few escaping ; the Cornish retaining too fresh a memory of their late distresses, and revenging themselves on those who had contributed thereunto. Sir William Waller himself, with a small train, fled into Bristol, which had sacrificed a great part of their garrison in his defeat ; and so were even ready to expire at his entry into the town, himself bringing the first news of his disaster.

This glorious day, for it was a day of triumph, redeemed for that time the King's whole affairs, so that all clouds that shadowed them seemed to be dispelled, and a bright light of success to shine over the whole kingdom. There were in this battle slain, on the enemy's part, above six hundred on the place ; nine hundred prisoners taken, besides two or three hundred retaken and redeemed, whom they had gathered up in the skirmishes and pursuit ; with all their cannon, being eight pieces of brass ordnance ; all their arms, ammunition, waggons, baggage, and victual ; eight and twenty foot ensigns, and nine cornets ; and all this by a party of fifteen hundred horse, with two small field-pieces, (for the victory was perfect, upon the matter, before the Cornish came up ; though the enemy's foot were suffered to stand in a body uncharged, out of ceremony, till they came ; that they might be refreshed with a share in the conquest,) against a body of full two thousand horse, five hundred dragoons, and near three thousand foot, with an excellent train of artillery. So that the Cornish had great reason to think their deliverance, and victory at Roundway, more signal and wonderful than the other at Stratton, save that the first might be thought the

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parent of the latter, and the loss on the King's party was less ; for in this there were slain very few ; and, of name, none but Dudley Smith, an honest and valiant young gentleman ; who was always a volunteer with the Lord Wilmot, and among the first upon any action of danger.

Besides the present fruit of this victory, the King received an advantage from the jealousy, that, from thence, grew among the officers of the Parliament armies. For Sir William Waller believed himself to be absolutely betrayed, and sacrificed by the Earl of Essex, out of envy at the great things he had done, which seemed to eclipse his glories ; and complained, “ that he, lying with his whole “ army within ten miles of Oxford, should suffer the chief “ strength of that place to march thirty miles to destroy “ him, without so much as sending out a party to follow “ them, or to alarm Oxford, by which they would have “ been probably recalled.” On the other hand, the Earl, disdaining to be thought his rival, reproached the other with “ unsoldierly neglects, and want of courage, to be “ beaten by a handful of men, and to have deserted his foot “ and cannon, without engaging his own person in one “ charge against the enemy.” Wherever the fault was, it was never forgiven ; but, from the enmity that proceeded from thence, the King often afterwards reaped very notable and seasonable advantages ; which will be remembered in their places.

This blessed defeat happened to be upon the same day, and upon the same time of the day, when the King met the Queen upon the field near Keinton, under Edge-hill, where the battle had been fought in October before ; and before their Majesties came to Oxford, they received the happy news of it. It is easy to imagine the joy with which it was received, all men raising their fallen spirits to too great a height, as though they should now go through all the work without farther opposition ; and this transport to either extremes was too natural upon all the vicissitudes of the war ; and it was some allay to the welcome news of the victory to some men, that it had been obtained under



the command and conduct of Wilmot; who was very much in Prince Rupert's disesteem, and not in any notable degree of favour with the King, but much beloved by all the good fellowship of the army; which was too great a body. It was now time for the King's army, victorious in so many encounters, to take the field; upon what enterprise, was the question. This overthrow of Waller had infinitely surprised, and increased the distractions at London. They had seen the copy of the warrants, which his vanity had caused to be dispersed, after the action at Lansdown; in which he declared, "that he had routed the Marquis's army, and was in pursuit of them; and therefore commanded the justices of peace, and constables, to give order for the apprehension of them, as they fled dispersed;" and expected every day, that the Marquis would be sent up prisoner: and now to hear that his whole invincible army was defeated, and himself fled, upon the matter, alone, (for ill news is for the most part made worse, as the best is reported to be better than it is,) brought them to their wits end; so that they could little advance the recruiting the Earl of Essex's army; who in his person likewise grew more sullen towards them, and resented their little regard of him, and grew every day more conversant with the Earls of Northumberland and Holland, and others who were most weary of the war, and would be glad of peace upon easy terms.

The King's army received a fair addition, by the conjunction with those forces which attended the Queen; for her Majesty brought with her above two thousand foot, well armed, and one thousand horse, and six pieces of cannon, and two mortars, and about one hundred waggon-guns. So that as soon as their Majesties came to Oxford, the Earl of Essex, who had spent his time about Thame and Aylesbury, without any action after that skirmish in which Mr. Hambden was slain, save by small parties, of which there was none of name or note, but one handsome smart conflict between a party of five hundred horse and dragoons, commanded by Colonel Middleton, a Scotch-

The King  
meets the  
Queen near  
Keinton:  
she coming  
with a great  
recruit.



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The Earl of  
Essex re-  
tires from  
Thame  
with his  
army to  
Uxbridge.

man, on the Parliament party, and a regiment of horse, commanded by Sir Charles Lucas, on the King's; where, after a very soldierly contest, and more blood drawn than was usual upon such actions; the King's party prevailed, returning with some prisoners of name, and the slaughter of one hundred of the enemy, not without some loss of their own: the Earl, I say, retired with his army broken, and disheartened, to Uxbridge, giving over any thought of fighting with the King, till he should be recruited with horse, men, and money; and suffering no less in the talk of the people, (who began to assume a great freedom in discourse,) for not interposing to hinder the Queen's march to Oxford, and joining with the King, than for sitting still so near Oxford, whilst the Lord Wilmot went from thence to the ruin of Sir William Waller.

After which defeat, the Lord Wilmot retired to Oxford to attend his Majesty; and the Cornish army (for that name it deservedly kept still, though it received so good an increase by the Marquis and Prince's joining with them) drew back, and possessed themselves of Bath, which was soon quitted to them, upon the overthrow of Waller; that garrison being withdrawn to reinforce Bristol. At Bath they rested, and refreshed themselves, till they might receive new orders from the King; who, upon full advice, and consideration of the state he was in, and the broken condition of the enemy, resolved to make an attempt upon the city of Bristol; to which Prince Rupert was most inclined, for his being disappointed in a former design; and where there were many well affected to the King's service from the beginning, and more since the execution of those two eminent citizens. And the disesteem generally had of the courage of Nathaniel Fiennes, the Governor, made the design to be thought the more reasonable; so the Marquis and Prince Maurice returned to Bath, upon agreement to appear, on such a day, with their whole strength, before Bristol, on the Somersetshire side, when Prince Rupert with the Oxford forces would appear before it, on the Gloucestershire side.

On the four and twentieth of July, both armies sat down before it; quartering their horse in that manner, that none could go out or in to the city, without great hazard of being taken; and the same day, with the assistance of some seamen, who were prepared before, they

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Bristol besieged by  
Prince Rupert.

seized all the ships that were in King-road; which were not only laden with goods of great value, as plate, money, and the best sort of all commodities, which those who suspected the worst had sent aboard, but with many persons of quality; who, being unwilling to run the hazard of a siege, thought that way to have secured themselves, and to have escaped to London; and so were all taken prisoners. The next day, Prince Rupert came to his brother, and the Marquis, and a general council of all the principal officers of both armies being assembled, it was debated, "in what manner they should proceed, by assault or approach."

There were in the town five and twenty hundred foot, and a regiment of horse and dragoons; the line about the town was finished; yet in some places the graff was wider and deeper than in others. The castle within the town was very well prepared, and supplied with great store of provisions to endure a siege. The opinions were several: the officers of the Cornish were of opinion, "that it was best to proceed by way of approach; because, the ground being very good, it would in a very short time be done; and since there was no army of the enemy in a possibility to relieve it, the securest way would be the best; whereas the works were so good, that they must expect to lose very many men; and, if they were beaten off, all their summer hopes would be destroyed; it not being easy, again to make up the spirit of the army for a new action. Besides, they alleged, the well affected party in the city, which was believed to be very great, would, after they had been closely besieged three or four days, have a greater influence upon the soldier, and be able to do more towards the surrender, than they could

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“ upon a storm ; when they would be equally sensible of  
“ the disorder of the soldier, and their own damage by  
“ plunder, as the other ; and the too late example of the  
“ executed citizens would keep men from offering at any  
“ insurrection in the city.”

On the other hand, Prince Rupert, and all the officers of his army, very earnestly desired to assault it ; alleged  
“ the work to be easy, and the soldiers fitter for any brisk  
“ attempt, than a dull patient design ; and that the army  
“ would be more weakened by the latter than the former :  
“ that the city, not having yet recovered the consternation  
“ of Sir William Waller’s defeat, was so full of horror,  
“ that it would make a very weak defence : that there was  
“ no soldier of experience in the town, and the Governor  
“ himself not like to endure the terror of a storm : where-  
“ as, if they gave them time to consider, and to look long  
“ upon them with a wall between, they would grow con-  
“ firmed and resolute, and courage would supply the place  
“ of skill ; and having plenty of all kinds of provisions  
“ within the town, they would grow strong and peremp-  
“ tory, whilst the besiegers grew less vigorous, and dis-  
“ heartened.” These reasons, and the Prince’s impor-  
tunity, with some insinuations of knowing more than was  
fit to be spoken, as if somewhat would be done within the  
town, that must not be mentioned, and a glorious con-  
tempt of danger, prevailed so far, that it was consented to,  
on all parts, to assault the town the next morning at three  
places on the Somersetshire side, and at three places on  
the Gloucestershire side, at the break of day. The truth  
is, both opinions, with regard to their different circum-  
stances, were in themselves reasonable. For the Glouces-  
tershire side, where Prince Rupert was, might be stormed,  
the graff being shallow, and the wall, in some places, low  
and weak ; which could not be easily approached, by rea-  
son the ground was rocky, and the redoubts high and very  
strong, which overlooked the ground ; on the other side  
the ground was very easy to approach, and as inconvenient



and dangerous to storm, by reason of a plain level before the line, and a broad and deep graff, and the line throughout better flankered than the other.

The next morning, with little other provisions fit for such a work, than the courage of the assailants, both armies fell on. On the west side, where the Cornish were, they assaulted the line in three places; one division led by Sir Nicholas Slanning, assisted with Colonel John Trevannion, Lieutenant Colonel Slingsby, and three more field officers; too great a number of such officers to conduct so small a party as five hundred men, if there had not been an immoderate disdain of danger, and appetite of glory: another division, on the right hand, was led by Colonel Buck, assisted by Colonel Wagstaffe, Colonel Bernard Ashley, who commanded the regiment of the Lord Marquis Hertford, with other field officers: and the third division, on the left hand, led by Sir Thomas Basset, who was Major General of the Cornish. These three divisions fell on together with that courage and resolution, as nothing but death could control; and though the middle division got into the graff, and so near filled it, that some mounted the wall, yet by the prodigious disadvantage of the ground, and the full defence the besieged made within, they were driven back with a great slaughter; the common soldiers, after their chief officers were killed, or desperately wounded, finding it a bootless attempt.

On Prince Rupert's side, it was assaulted with equal courage, and almost equal loss, but with better success; for though that division, led on by the Lord Grandison, Colonel General of the foot, was beaten off, the Lord Grandison himself being hurt; and the other, led by Colonel Bellasis, likewise had no better fortune; yet Colonel Washington, with a less party, finding a place in the curtain (between the places assaulted by the other two) weaker than the rest, entered, and quickly made room for the horse to follow. The enemy, as soon as they saw the line entered in one place, either out of fear, or by command of their officers, quit their posts; so that the Prince

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entered with his foot and horse into the suburbs; sending for one thousand of the Cornish foot, which were presently sent to second him; and marched up to Fromegate, losing many men, and some very good officers, by shot from the walls and windows; insomuch as all men were much cast down to see so little gotten with so great a loss; for they had still a more difficult entrance into the town than they had yet passed, and where their horse could be of no use to them; when, to the exceeding comfort of generals and soldiers, the city beat a parley; which the Prince willingly embracing, and getting their hostages into his hands, sent Colonel Gerrard and another officer to the Governor to treat. The treaty began about two of the clock in the afternoon, and, before ten at night, these articles were agreed on, and signed by all parties.

It is surrendered upon articles.

1. "That the Governor, Nathaniel Fiennes, together with all the officers both of horse and foot, now within and about the city of Bristol, castle, and forts, may march out to-morrow morning by nine of the clock, with their full arms, bag and baggage, provided it be their own goods: and that the common foot soldiers march out without arms, and the troopers with their horses and swords, leaving their other arms behind them, with a safe convoy to Warminster; and after, not to be molested in their march, by any of the King's forces, for the space of three days.

2. "That there may be carriages allowed and provided to carry away their bag and baggage, and sick and hurt soldiers.

3. "That the King's forces march not into the town, till the Parliament forces are marched out; which is to be at nine of the clock.

4. "That all prisoners in the city be delivered up; and that Captain Eyres and Captain Cookein, who were taken at the Devizes, be released.

5. "That Sir John Horner, Sir John Seymour, Mr. Edward Stevens, and all other knights, gentlemen, citizens, and other persons, that are now in the city, may, if

“ they please, with their goods, wives, and families, bag  
“ and baggage, have free liberty to return to their own  
“ homes, or elsewhere, and there to rest in safety, or ride,  
“ and travel with the Governor and forces : and such of  
“ them, and their families, as shall be left behind, by rea-  
“ son of sickness or other cause, may have liberty, so soon  
“ as they can conveniently, to depart this town with safety ;  
“ provided that all gentlemen, and other persons, shall  
“ have three days’ liberty to reside here, or depart with  
“ their goods, which they please.

6. “ That all the inhabitants of the city shall be secured  
“ in their persons, families, and estates, free from plunder-  
“ ing, and all other violence, or wrong whatsoever.

7. “ That the charters and liberties of this city may be  
“ preserved ; and that the ancient government thereof,  
“ and present governors and officers, may remain and con-  
“ tinue in their former condition, according to his Ma-  
“ jesty’s charters and pleasure.

8. “ That, for avoiding inconveniences and distractions,  
“ the quartering of soldiers be referred or left to the Mayor,  
“ and Governor of the same city for the time being.

9. “ That all such as have carried any goods into the  
“ castle may have free liberty to carry the same forth.

10. “ That the forces, that are to march out, are to  
“ leave behind them all cannon, and ammunition, with  
“ their colours, and such arms as is before expressed.”

The next morning, if not before, (for the truth is, from the time that the treaty was first offered, they in the town kept no guards, nor observed any order ; but their soldiers run away to the Prince, and many of his soldiers went into the town,) his Highness was possessed of Bristol, the enemy then marching away. Here the ill example of Reading, in the breach of the articles, was remembered, and unhappily followed ; for all that garrison was now here. So that they, with some colour of right, or retaliation, and the rest, by their example, used great licence to the soldiers, who should have been safely conducted ; which reflected much upon the Prince, though he used his utmost power to sup-



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press it; and charged Colonel Fiennes to be accessory to his own wrong, by marching out of the town an hour before his appointment; and thereby his convoy was not ready; and at another gate than was appointed and agreed on. And as the articles were thus unhappily violated to those who went away, so they were not enough observed to those who stayed, and to the city itself: for many of Colonel Fiennes' soldiers taking conditions, and entering with the King's army, instructed their new friends, who were most disaffected; so that one whole street upon the bridge, the inhabitants whereof lay under some brand of Malignity, though, no doubt, there were many honest men among them, was almost totally plundered; which, because there was but little justice done upon the transgressors, was believed to be done by connivance from the officers, and more discredited the King's forces, and his cause, than was then taken notice of, or discovered. It was a noble attribute given to the brave Fabricius, *qui aliquid esse crederet et in hostem nefas*. I wish I could excuse those swervings from justice and right, which were too frequently practised against contracts, under the notion, that they, with whom they were made, were rebels, and could not be too ill used; when, as the cause deserved, so it needed all the ingenuity and integrity, in the propugners of it, to keep despair from the guilty, who were by much too numerous for the innocent.

This reduction of Bristol was a full tide of prosperity to the King, and made him master of the second city of his kingdom, and gave him the undisturbed possession of one of the richest counties of the kingdom, (for the rebels had now no standing garrison, or the least visible influence upon any part of Somersetshire,) and rendered Wales (which was before well affected, except some towns in Pembrokehire) more useful to him; being freed of the fear of Bristol, and consequently of the charge that always attends those fears; and restored to the trade with Bristol; which was the greatest support of those parts. Yet the King might very well have said, what King Pyrrhus here-

tofore did, after his second battle, by the city of Asculum, with the Romans, where he won the victory; "If we win another at this price, we are utterly undone." And truly his Majesty's loss before this town was inestimable, and very hard to be repaired. I am persuaded there were slain, upon the several assaults, of common men, but such as were tried and incomparable foot, about five hundred; and abundance of excellent officers, whereof many were of prime command and quality.

On the Cornish side fell, besides Major Kendall, and many other inferior officers, excellent in their degree, Colonel Buck, a modest and a stout commander, and of good experience in war: who having got over the graff, and even to the top of the wall, was knocked down with a halbert, and perished in the graff; Sir Nicholas Slanning, and Colonel John Trevannion, the life and soul of the Cornish regiments, whose memories can never be enough celebrated; who being led by no impulsion, but of conscience, and their own observation of the ill practices and designs of the great conductors, (for they both were of the House of Commons,) engaged themselves with the first in the opposition; and as soon as Sir Ralph Hopton, and those other gentlemen came into Cornwall, joined with them; and being both of singular reputation, and good fortunes there, the one in possession, the other in reversion after his father, they engaged their persons and estates in the service; rather doing great things, than affecting that it should be taken notice of to be done by them; applying themselves to all infirmities, and condescending to all capacities, for removing all obstructions, which accidentally arose among those, who could only prosper by being of one mind. Sir Nicholas Slanning was Governor of Pendennis Castle, upon the credit and security whereof, the King's party in that country first depended, and, by the command it had of the harbour of Falmouth, was, or might be, supplied with all that was necessary. He was indeed a young man of admirable parts, a sharp and discerning wit, a staid and solid judgment, a gentle and most obliging behaviour, and a



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courage so clear and keen, as, even without the other ornaments, would have rendered him very considerable: they were both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendship to one another, and to Sir Bevil Greenvil, whose body was not yet buried; they were both hurt almost in the same minute, and in the same place; both shot in the thigh with musket bullets; their bones broken, the one dying presently, the other some few days after; and both had the royal sacrifice of their Sovereign's very particular sorrow, and the concurrence of all good men's; and, that which is a greater solemnity to their memories, as it fares with most great and virtuous men, whose loss is better understood long afterwards, they were as often lamented, as the accidents in the public affairs made the courage and fidelity of the Cornish of greatest signification to the cause.

On the north side, of Prince Rupert's army, fell very many good officers, the chief of whom was Colonel Harry Lunsford, an officer of extraordinary sobriety, industry, and courage; near whom, his excellent Lieutenant Colonel Moyle was likewise hurt, and died within few days, both shot out of a window after they had entered the suburbs. There were hurt, the Lord Viscount Grandison, nephew to the great Duke of Buckingham, who was Colonel General of the King's foot; Colonel John Bellasis, since Lord Bellasis; Colonel Bernard Ashley; Colonel Sir John Owen; and many other officers of name, of whom none of quality died of their wounds but the Lord Grandison; whose loss can never be enough lamented. He was a young man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a lover of justice and integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this war, could make him swerve from the most precise rules of it; and of that rare piety and devotion, that the court, or camp, could not shew a more faultless person, or to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves. His personal valour, and courage of all kinds, (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the cor-



rupt opinion of honour, as to venture himself in duels,) was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his person; his affection, and zeal, and obedience to the King, was such as became a branch of that family. And he was wont to say, “that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the cause, nor loyalty enough to inform him of the duty of a subject, yet the very obligations of gratitude to the King, on the behalf of his house, were such, as his life was but a due sacrifice:” and therefore, he no sooner saw the war unavoidable, than he engaged all his brethren, as well as himself, in the service; and there were then three more of them in command in the army, where he was so unfortunately cut off.

As soon as the news of the taking of Bristol came to the King at Oxford, after a solemn thanksgiving to God for the success, which was immediately and publicly performed, his Majesty assembled his Privy Council, to consider how this great blessing in war might be applied to the procuring a happy peace; and that this might be the last town he should purchase at the price of blood. It was evident, that, as this last victory added great lustre and beauty to the whole face of his affairs, so it would produce an equal paleness, and be an ominous presage to the Parliament; where the jealousies and apprehensions between themselves still grew higher, and new remedies still proposed, which were generally thought worse than the disease.

Upon the news of the Lord Fairfax’s being defeated in the North, which came about this time, they resolved to send a committee of the two Houses into Scotland, “to desire their brethren of that kingdom presently to advance with an army for their relief;” which was thought so desperate a cure, that the Lords naming the Earl of Rutland, and Lord Grey of Warke, for that embassy, the Earl upon indisposition of health procured a release; and the other, who had never declined any employment they would confer on him, so peremptorily refused to meddle in it, that he was committed to the Tower; and, in the

The two Houses send Commissioners into Scotland for relief.

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end, they were compelled to depute only Commoners to that service: and so Sir William Armyne, young Sir Henry Vane, and two more, assisted with Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye, two of their powerful clergy, were embarked in that negotiation; upon which, they who sent them were so far from being confident, and so little satisfied, that they should be driven to bring in foreign forces, with the purpose whereof they had so long traduced the King, that there was, some few desperate persons only excepted, even a universal desire of peace; and the Earl of Essex himself, writing to the Speaker of the House of Commons, of the defects in his army, and of his wants of horse, men, and money, advised, “that they would think of sending some “reasonable propositions to the King, for the procuring a “safe peace;” which being the first intimation he had ever given to that purpose, together with his familiarity and correspondence with those Lords, who were known passionately to desire an accommodation, gave them sad apprehensions; which were increased by some severe messages they received from him, for his vindication from the foul aspersions and calumnies, which were generally and publicly laid on him, for his unactivity after the winning Reading, whilst the Queen marched securely to Oxford, and Sir William Waller was destroyed; as if “he would “think of some way of righting himself, if they were not “sensible on his behalf.”

How to work upon these discomposed humours, and to reduce them to such temper, that they might consent to the kingdom's peace, was the argument of the King's consultations: but by what expedient to promote this, was the difficulty. After the breach of the last treaty, and when the King had in vain laboured to revive it, and could not procure any answer from them to his last messages; but instead thereof his messenger imprisoned, tried before a council of war for his life, and still in custody, and a declaration, “that whosoever should be employed by “his Majesty, on any message to them, without their “leave, should be proceeded against as a spy,” (so that

though they pretended to be his great council, they upon the matter now protested against any relation to his Majesty,) he advised with his council, "what might be fit for him to do, to lessen the reverence and reputation of them with the people:" for the superstition towards the name of a Parliament was so general, that the King had wisely forborne to charge the two Houses with the treason and rebellion which was raised, but imputed it to particular persons, who were most visibly and actually engaged in it. Some were of opinion, "that all the members who stayed there, and sat in either House, being guilty of so many treasonable acts, thereby the Parliament was actually dissolved, by the same reason as a corporation, by great misdemeanor and crime, might forfeit their charter; and therefore that the King should, by his proclamation, declare the dissolution of it, and then consider whether it were fit to call another." But this opinion was generally disliked, both "because it was conceived not to be just; for the treason of those who were present could not forfeit the right of those who were away; neither was it evident, that all that were present consented to the ill that was done; and the King's declaring a Parliament to be dissolved, contrary to an act of Parliament, was believed, would prove an act so ungracious to the people, for the consequences of it, that the King would be an exceeding loser by such an attempt; and that many, in such a case, would re- turn thither, who out of conscience had withdrawn from that assembly."

In conclusion, the advice was unanimous, "that his Majesty should declare the orders and proceedings of one or both Houses to be void, by reason the members did not enjoy the freedom and liberty of Parliament; and therefore should require his good subjects, no longer to be misled by them:" and, to that purpose, the King had issued his proclamation six weeks before this happy turn in his affairs, so that he could not now send a message to them, as to two Houses of Parliament,



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lest he might seem to retract his former judgment of them, which was concluded to be both regular and just. Upon the whole matter, lest his Majesty might be understood to be so much elated with his good successes, and the increase of his strength, that he aimed at no less than a perfect victory, and the ruin of those who had incensed him, (by which insinuations they, who could not forgive themselves, endeavoured to make all others desperate,) he was resolved to publish such a declaration to the whole kingdom, that both Houses, and their army, could not but take notice of, and might, if they were inclined to it, thence take a rise to make any overtures to him towards an atonement. To that purpose, the next day after he received the assurance of the taking of Bristol, his Majesty published this ensuing declaration; which I shall enter in his own words.

*His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving subjects, after his victories over the Lord Fairfax in the North, Sir William Waller in the West, and the taking of Bristol by his Majesty's forces.*

The King's  
declaration  
after his  
late suc-  
cesses.

“ As the grievances and losses of no particular persons,  
“ since these miserable bloody distempers have disquieted  
“ this poor kingdom, can be compared to the loss and  
“ damage we ourself have sustained, there having been no  
“ victory obtained but in the blood of our own subjects,  
“ nor no rapine or violence committed, but to the im-  
“ verishment and ruin of our own people; so, a blessed  
“ and happy peace cannot be so acceptable and welcome  
“ to any man, as to us. Almighty God, to whom all the  
“ secrets of our heart are open, who hath so often and so  
“ miraculously preserved us, and to whose power alone  
“ we must attribute the goodness of our present condi-  
“ tion, (how unhappy soever it is with reference to the  
“ public calamities,) knows, with what unwillingness,  
“ with what anguish of soul, we submitted ourself to the  
“ necessity of taking up defensive arms. And the world  
“ knows with what justice and bounty we have repaired

“ our subjects, for all the pressures and inconveniences  
“ they had borne, by such excellent laws, as would for ever  
“ have prevented the like; and with what earnestness and  
“ importunity we desired to add any thing, for the esta-  
“ blishment of the religion, laws, and liberty of the king-  
“ dom. How all these have been disturbed, invaded, and  
“ almost destroyed, by faction, sedition, and treason, by  
“ those, who have neither reverence to God, nor affection  
“ to men, but have sacrificed both to their own ends and  
“ ambition, is now so evident, that we hope, as God hath  
“ wonderfully manifested his care of us, and his defence of  
“ his and our most just cause; so he hath so far touched  
“ the hearts of our people, that their eyes are at last  
“ opened to see how miserably they have been seduced,  
“ and to abhor those persons, whose malice and subtlety  
“ had seduced them to dishonour him, to rebel against us,  
“ and to bring much misery and calamity upon their  
“ native country.

“ We well remember the Protestation voluntarily made  
“ by us, in the head of that small army we were master of  
“ in September last, to defend and maintain the true Re-  
“ formed Protestant religion: and if it should please God,  
“ by his blessing upon that army, to preserve us from this  
“ rebellion, that we would maintain the just privileges  
“ and freedom of Parliament, and govern by the known  
“ laws of the land; for whose defence, in truth, that army  
“ was only raised, and hath been since kept. And there  
“ cannot be a more seasonable time to renew that Protes-  
“ tation than now, when God hath vouchsafed us so many  
“ victories and successes, and hath rendered the power of  
“ those, who seek to destroy us, less formidable than it  
“ hath been, (so that we shall probably not fall under the  
“ scandalous imputation, which hath usually attended our  
“ messages of peace, that they proceed from the weakness  
“ of our power, not love of our people,) and when there is  
“ more freedom in many counties, for our good subjects  
“ to receive true information of their own and our condi-  
“ tion; the knowledge whereof hath been, with equal in-

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“ dustry and injustice, kept from them, as other acts of  
“ cruelty have been imposed on them.

“ We do therefore declare to all the world, in the pre-  
“ sence of Almighty God, to whom we must give a strict  
“ account of all our professions and protestations, that we  
“ are so far from intending any alteration of the religion  
“ established, (as hath been often falsely, scandalously,  
“ and against the conscience of the contrivers themselves  
“ of that rumour, suggested to our people,) or from the  
“ least thought of invading the liberty and property of the  
“ subject, or violating the just privileges of Parliament,  
“ that we call that God to witness, *who hath covered our*  
“ *head in the day of battle*, that we desire from our soul,  
“ and shall always use our utmost endeavour, to preserve  
“ and advance the true Reformed Protestant Religion, esta-  
“ blished in the Church of England; in which we were  
“ born, have faithfully lived, and, by the grace of God,  
“ shall resolutely die: that the preservation of the liberty  
“ and property of the subject, in the due observation of  
“ the known laws of the land, shall be equally our care, as  
“ the maintenance of our own rights; we desiring to go-  
“ vern only by those good laws, which, till they were op-  
“ pressed by this odious rebellion, preserved this nation  
“ happy. And we do acknowledge the just privileges of  
“ Parliament to be an essential part of those laws, and  
“ shall therefore most solemnly defend and observe them.  
“ So that, in truth, if either religion, law, or liberty, be  
“ precious to our people, they will, by their submission  
“ to us, join with us in the defence of them; and thereby  
“ establish that peace, by which only they can flourish,  
“ and be enjoyed.

“ Whether these men, that be professed enemies to the  
“ established Ecclesiastical Government, who reproach  
“ and persecute the learned orthodox ministers of the  
“ Church, and into their places put ignorant, seditious,  
“ and schismatical preachers, who vilify the Book of  
“ Common Prayer, and impiously profane God's worship  
“ with their scurrilous and seditious demeanour, are like



“to advance that religion; whether those men, who  
“boldly, and without the least shadow or colour of law,  
“impose insupportable taxes and odious excises upon  
“their fellow subjects, imprison, torment, and murder  
“them, are like to preserve the liberty and property of  
“the subject: and whether those men, who seize and  
“possess themselves of our own unquestionable revenue,  
“and our just rights, have denied us our negative voice,  
“have, by force and violence, awed and terrified the mem-  
“bers of both Houses, and lastly have, as far as in them  
“lies, dissolved the present Parliament, by driving away  
“and imprisoning the members, and resolving the whole  
“power thereof, and more, into a committee of a few  
“men, contrary to all law, custom, or precedent, are like  
“to vindicate and uphold the privileges of Parliament, all  
“the world may judge.

“We do therefore once more conjure our good sub-  
“jects, by their memory of that excellent peace and firm  
“happiness, with which it pleased God to reward their  
“duty and loyalty in time past; by their oaths of allegi-  
“ance and supremacy, which no vow or covenant, con-  
“trived and administered to and by themselves, can cancel  
“or evade; by whatsoever is dear and precious to them  
“in this life, or hoped or prayed for in the life to come,  
“that they will remember their duty, and consider their  
“interest, and no longer suffer themselves to be misled,  
“their Prince dishonoured, and their country wasted and  
“undone by the malice and cunning of those state im-  
“postors; who, under pretence of reformation, would in-  
“troduce whatsoever is monstrous and unnatural both to  
“religion and policy: but that they rather choose quietly  
“to enjoy their religion, property, and liberty, founded  
“and provided for by the wisdom and industry of former  
“times, and secured and enlarged by the blessings upon  
“the present age, than to spend their lives and fortunes  
“to purchase confusion, and to make themselves liable to  
“the most intolerable kind of slavery, that is, to be slaves

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“ to their fellow subjects ; who, by their prodigious, un-  
“ heard of acts of oppression and tyranny, have given  
“ them sufficient evidence what they are to expect at  
“ their hands.

“ And let not our good people, who have been misled,  
“ or, through want of understanding, or want of courage,  
“ submitted themselves to unwarrantable and disloyal  
“ actions, be taught, by these seducers, that their safety  
“ now consists in despair ; and that they can only secure  
“ themselves for the ills they have done, by a resolute and  
“ peremptory disobedience. Revenge and blood-thirsti-  
“ ness have never been imputed to us, by those, who have  
“ not left either our government, or nature, unexamined,  
“ with the greatest boldness and malice. And all those  
“ who, since those bloody distractions, out of conscience  
“ have returned from their evil ways to us, have found,  
“ that it was not so easy for them to repent, as for us to  
“ forgive. And whosoever have been misled by those  
“ whose hearts from the beginning have designed all this  
“ mischief, and shall redeem their past crimes by their  
“ present service and loyalty, in the apprehending or op-  
“ posing such who shall continue to bear arms against us,  
“ and shall use their utmost endeavours to reduce those  
“ men to their due obedience, and to restore this kingdom  
“ to its wonted peace, shall have cause to magnify our  
“ mercy, and to repent the trespasses committed against  
“ so just and gracious a Sovereign. Lastly, we desire all  
“ our good subjects who have really assisted, or really  
“ wished us well, now God hath done such wonderful  
“ things for us, vigorously to endeavour to put an end to  
“ all these miseries, by bringing in men, money, plate,  
“ horses, or arms, to our aid ; that so we being not want-  
“ ing to ourselves, may with confidence expect the conti-  
“ nuance of God’s favour, to restore us all to that blessed  
“ harmony of affections, which may establish a firm peace ;  
“ without the speedy obtaining of which, this poor king-  
“ dom will be utterly undone, though not absolutely lost.”

What effect this declaration produced, at least what accident fell out shortly after the publishing it, we shall have occasion anon to remember, when we have first remembered some unfortunate passages, which accompanied this prosperity on the King's part; for the sunshine of his conquest was somewhat clouded, not only by the number and quality of the slain, but by the jealousies and misunderstandings of those who were alive. There was not, from the beginning, that conformity of humour and inclinations between the Princes and the Marquis of Hertford, as had been to be wished between all persons of honour, who were engaged in a quarrel that could never prosper but by the union of the undertakers. Prince Maurice, and, on his behalf, (or rather the other by his impulsion,) Prince Rupert, taking to heart, that a nephew of the King's should be Lieutenant General to the Marquis, who had neither been exercised in the profession of a soldier, nor even now punctually studied the office of a General: on the other hand, the Marquis, who was of the most gentle nature to the gentle, and as rough and resolute to the imperious, it may be liked not the Prince's assuming to himself more than became a Lieutenant General, and sometimes crossing acts of his with relation to the governing and disposing the affairs of the country, in which he knew himself better versed than the Prince; and when Bristol was taken, where the Marquis took himself to command in chief, being a town particularly within his commission, and of which he was besides Lord Lieutenant, he thought himself not regardfully enough used, that Prince Rupert had not only entered into the treaty without his advice, but concluded the articles without so much as naming him, or taking notice that he was there. And therefore with as little ceremony to his Highness, or so much as communicating it to either of the Princes, the Marquis declared that he would give the government of that city to Sir Ralph Hopton. Prince Rupert on the other hand conceived the town won by him, being entered on that side in which he commanded absolutely, and the

Jealousies  
arise a-  
mong the  
King's  
principal  
officers  
about the  
govern-  
ment of  
Bristol.



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Cornish on the other part absolutely repulsed; and therefore that the disposition of the command and government of it wholly belonged to him. But when he heard the resolution of the Marquis concerning Sir Ralph Hopton, who was not to be put into the scale with any private man, he gave over the design of conferring it upon any of the pretenders; and by the same messenger, by whom he advertised his Majesty of the good success, he desired, "that he would bestow the government of that city, reduced by him, upon himself;" the which the King readily consented to, not suspecting any dispute to be about it. And shortly after an express arrived likewise from the Marquis, with an account of all particulars, and that his Lordship had designed Sir Ralph Hopton to be Governor of the new-got city.

Then, and not before, the King understood what strait he was in; and was exceedingly perplexed to find an expedient to compose the difference that he saw would arise. He had passed his word to his nephew, of whom he was very tender, and did in truth believe that his title to dispose the government was very just: he had likewise a very just esteem of the Marquis, who had served him with all fidelity, and had clearly declared himself for him, when the doing otherwise would have been most prejudicial to his Majesty: and, it could not be denied, no subject's affection and loyalty gave a greater lustre to the King's cause, than that of the Marquis; and that which was a circumstance of infinite moment, was the nominating Sir Ralph Hopton; who as he was a person of high merit from the King, so he was the most gracious and popular to that city, and the country adjacent; and after so great service, and suffering in the service, to expose him to a refusal, was both against the kindness and goodness of the King's nature, and his politic foresight into his affairs. And as a presage how various the interpretation would be abroad, of whatsoever he should determine, he found the minds and affections of his own court and council, with more passion than ordinary, ready to deliver their opinions. The Mar-

quis was generally loved, and where he was not enough known to be so, his interest and reputation in the kingdom was thought of wonderful consideration in the King's business : and many were very much troubled to see Prince Rupert, whose activity and courage in the field they thought very instrumental, incline to get the possession of the second city of the kingdom into his hands, or to engage himself so much in the civil government, as such a command soberly executed must necessarily comprehend : and this as it were in contempt of one of the prime noblemen of the kingdom, to which order the Prince had not expressed himself very debonair. And these thought " the King was, by counsel and precept, to reform and soften the Prince's understanding and humour ; and to persuade him, in compliance with his service, to decline the contest, and suffer the Marquis to proceed in his disposition, which, on all parts, was acknowledged to be most fitly designed."

Others again were of opinion, " that the right of disposing the command to whomsoever he thought fit, entirely belonged to Prince Rupert ; and therefore (besides that the King had, by the same messenger who brought the suit, returned his consent) that he could not be reasonably refused, when he desired it for himself ; which would take away all possible imagination of disrespect to Sir Ralph Hopton, who could not take it ill, that the Prince himself had taken a command, that was designed to him : that the eyes of the army were upon his Highness, whose name was grown a terror to the enemy, as his courage and conduct had been very prosperous to the King ; and if, after so happy and glorious an achievement, he should now receive a repulse in so reasonable a pretence, though it would not lessen his own duty or alacrity in the service, it might have an unhappy influence upon his reputation and interest in the army ; which could receive no diminution without apparent damage to his Majesty : and therefore, that some means

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“should be used to the Marquis, to wave his title, and to consent that the Prince should enjoy his desires:” so that they who were only fit to be employed to persuade and alter either, seemed, and indeed were, passionately engaged against the thing they were to persuade. Whereupon the King discerned that all depended upon his own royal wisdom; and therefore resolved to take a journey in his own person to Bristol, and there to give such a rule as he should find most necessary; to which, he presumed, both persons would conform themselves, as well cordially, as obediently.

The King  
goes to  
Bristol to  
compose  
the differ-  
ence.

That which the King proposed to himself was, to gratify his nephew with the name, and the Marquis, by making Sir Ralph Hopton enjoy the thing; upon obliging whom the King's care was very particular. For though he knew his nature, as in truth it was, most exactly free from interrupting the least public service by private ends or thoughts, other men would be apt to conceive and publish a disrespect to be done to him, which himself apprehended not; and therefore his Majesty was not only, in his own princely mind, to retain a very gracious sense of his service, but to give evidence to all men, that he did so. And so after he had made a joyful entrance into Bristol, which was performed with all decent solemnity, and used all kind and obliging expressions to the Marquis, he desired him in private to consent, that he might perform his promise to his nephew, which he had passed before he had any imagination that his Lordship otherwise had determined of it; without speaking at all of any other title his Highness had to it, but by his Majesty's promise. He established Prince Rupert in the government of Bristol, who immediately sent a commission to Sir Ralph Hopton, (who was now so well recovered, that he walked into the air,) to be his Lieutenant Governor; signifying likewise to him, by a confident that passed between them, “that though he was now engaged for some time, which should not be long, to keep the superior title himself, he



“ would not at all meddle in the government, but that he  
“ should be as absolute in it, as if the original commission BOOK  
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“ had been granted to him.”

Sir Ralph Hopton, who was exceedingly sorry that his name was at all used, and exposed, as an argument of difference and misunderstanding between persons of such eminent influence upon the public, quickly discerned that this expedient, though it seemed plausibly to lessen the noise of the debate, did in truth object him to the full envy of one party. For the Marquis (who by the King's persuasions was rather quieted than satisfied) might, and he foresaw would, be persuaded to expect that he would refuse the commission from Prince Rupert, both, as he might be thought to comply in an injury done to the Marquis, to whom his devotion had been ancient, fast, and unshaken, and as the command now given him was inferior to what the Marquis, who had the power of disposal, had conferred on him; and so that he should vindicate the title, which the King himself was loath to give a judgment upon. He was the more troubled, because he found that, by submitting to this charge, he should by some be thought to have deserted the Marquis out of a kind of revenge for his having deserted the enterprise, when he chose, the last year, rather to go into Wales than Cornwall, and for his deserting him again now, when he brought all new officers to command the army over their heads who had raised it, and made the way for the new to come to them. Whereas the first, as is before remembered, was done by his own advice, as well as his full consent; and the latter, he well knew, was rather to be imputed to Prince Maurice than to his Lordship, whose kindness and esteem had been ever very real to him. On the other hand, he saw plainly, that if he refused to receive this commission, with what specious circumstances of duty and submission soever, it might produce (as without doubt unavoidably it would) notable disturbances and interruptions in the King's affairs; and that the Marquis, to common understandings, had, to obey the King, declined

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the contest, and therefore that the reviving it, and the mischief that attended it, would be imputed to his particular account. Besides that, he had always borne an avowed and declared reverence to the Queen of Bohemia and her children, whom he had personally and actively served in their wars, whilst they maintained any, and for whose honour and restitution he had been a zealous and known champion. And therefore he had no inclination to disoblige a hopeful prince of that house, upon whom our own hopes seemed so much to depend. He therefore resolved, according to his rare temper throughout this war, to let him whom he professed to serve, choose in what kind he would be served by him; and cheerfully received the commission from Prince Rupert; upon which, all discourse, or debate of difference, was for the present determined, what whisperings or murmurings soever remained.

The King found it now high time to resolve, to what action next to dispose his armies, and that their lying still so long there (for these agitations had kept the main work from going forward ten or twelve days, a time in that season unfortunately lost) had more weakened, than refreshed them; having not lost more men by storming the city, than afterwards by plundering it: those soldiers, who had warmed themselves with the burden of pillage, never quietly again submitting to the carriage of their arms.

The question was first, “whether both armies should be united, and march in one upon the next design?” And then, “what that design should be?” Against the first, there were many allegations.

1. “The condition of the West: Dorsetshire and Devonshire were entirely possessed by the enemy; for though Sir John Berkley with a daring party kept Exeter, and Colonel John Digby the north part (which was notoriously disaffected) from joining with Plymouth, which would else quickly have grown into an army strong enough to infest Cornwall, yet they had no place to retire to upon distress; and all the ports upon the western coasts were garrisoned by the Parliament, which,

“ upon the fame of the approach of the King’s forces, and  
“ the loss of Bristol, might probably be, without much re-  
“ sistance, reduced.

2. “ The Cornish army was greater in reputation, than  
“ numbers; having lost many at Lansdown, and the as-  
“ sault of Bristol, and, by the death of their chief officers,  
“ very many were run away since; besides they pretended  
“ some promise made to their country (which they con-  
“ ceived not to be enough secured against Plymouth) of  
“ returning speedily for the reduction of that town; so  
“ that if they were compelled to march eastwards, to  
“ which they were not inclined, it was to be doubted they  
“ would moulder away so fast, that there would be little  
“ addition of strength by it. Whereas if they marched  
“ westward, it would be no hard matter to gather up those  
“ who were returned, and to be strong enough in a very  
“ short time, by new levies, for any enterprise should be  
“ thought reasonable to be undertaken.” To which was  
added, “ that having lost those officers, whom they loved  
“ and feared, and whose reverence restrained their natural  
“ distempers, they were too much inclined to mutiny; and  
“ had expressed a peremptory aversion to the joining, and  
“ marching with the King’s army.” And the truth is,  
their humours then were not very gentle and agreeable, as  
being apt to think that their prowess was not enough re-  
compensed, or valued. For though the King affected to  
make all possible demonstrations to them, of an extraor-  
dinary high esteem he had of their wonderful fidelity and  
courage, yet he was able to procure very little money for  
them; and they had then, by the discipline under which  
they had been trained, (which was most regular, and full  
of that sobriety which promised good fortune,) an honest  
pride in their own natures, a great disdain of plundering,  
or supplying themselves by those vile arts, which they  
grew afterwards less tender to avoid.

3. “ The great number of the King’s horse; which was  
“ so brave a body, that when that part of it which was  
“ joined to the Cornish was away, he should march with



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“at least six thousand horse, which were as many as  
“would be able to live on any country within a due dis-  
“tance of quartering.

4. “Lastly, some correspondence with the chief gentle-  
“men of Dorsetshire, who were ready to join with any  
“considerable party for the King, and had some probable  
“hopes, that the small garrisons upon the coast would  
“not make a tedious resistance.”

There was another reason, which was not given, that if both armies had been kneaded into one, Prince Maurice could have been but a private Colonel: but there were enough besides to satisfy the King to keep them divided; and so he gave order to the Earl of Carnarvon to advance towards Dorchester (the chief town in that county, and one of the most malignant in England, where the rebels had a garrison) with the horse and dragoons, and the next day to Prince Maurice to march after with the foot and cannon; his Majesty keeping with him the Marquis of Hertford to attend his own person; for though he well saw, he should undergo some inconveniences by withdrawing the Marquis from that employment, the opinion of the soundness of his religion, and integrity of his justice, rendering him by much the most popular man in those parts, and was exceedingly tender of giving the least umbrage and distaste to his Lordship, upon whose honour and affection he relied entirely, and would as soon have trusted his crown upon his fidelity, as upon any man's in his three kingdoms, yet he discerned plainly that the Prince and the Marquis would never agree together; and that there were persons about them, who would foment their indispositions to each other, with any hazard to his service; and concluded, that he should sooner reduce his people by the power of his army, than by the persuasions of his counsel; and that the roughness of the one's nature might prevail more than the lenity and condescension of the other: and therefore he sent the Prince on that employment; using all imaginable means to remove any trouble, or jealousy of his favour from the Marquis's mind; his Majesty freely

Prince  
Maurice  
sent into  
the West  
with an  
army.

and clearly communicating to him all his counsels, and the true grounds of his resolution; and declaring to him, "that he would make him a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and Groom of his Stole, and that he would always have his company and advice about him;" with which the Marquis was satisfied, rather because he resolved not to disobey him, than that he was well pleased with the price of the obligations.

And truly many wise and honest men were sorry for the King's election; and though the Marquis's years, and a long indulgence to his ease, had superinduced a kind of laziness and inactivity upon his nature, that was neither agreeable to his primitive constitution, nor the great endowments of his mind, (for he was a good scholar, and had a good judgment,) and less to the temper of this time, and the office of a General, insomuch as he often resigned an excellent understanding to those who had a very indifferent one, and followed the advice, and concluded upon the information of those, who had narrower and more vulgar thoughts than suited with his honour, and were not worthy of such a trust; yet they thought the Prince's inexperience of the customs and manners of England, and an aversion from considering them, must subject him to the information and advice of worse counsellors than the other, and which would not be so easily controlled: and I am of opinion, that if the Prince had waited on his Majesty in that army, and never interposed in any command, not purely martial, and the Marquis been sent with those forces into the West with the Lord Hopton, (who was now to be left at Bristol to intend his health, and to form that new garrison; which was to be a magazine for men, arms, ammunition, and all that was wanted,) and some other steady persons, who might have been assigned to special provinces, a greater tide of good fortune had attended that expedition.

The next resolution to be taken, was concerning the King's own motion with the other army. There was not a man, who did not think the reducing of Gloucester, a

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city within little more than twenty miles of Bristol, of mighty importance to the King, if it might be done without a great expence of time, and loss of men: "It was the only garrison the rebels had between Bristol and Lancashire, on the north part of England; and if it could be recovered, his Majesty would have the river of Severn entirely within his command; whereby his garrisons of Worcester, and Shrewsbury, and all those parts, might be supplied from Bristol; and the trade of that city thereby so advanced, that the customs and duty might bring a notable revenue to the King, and the wealth of the city increasing, it might bear the greater burden for the war: a rich and populous county, which hitherto rather yielded conveniences of quarter, than a settled contribution, (that strong garrison holding not only the whole Forest division, which is a fourth part of the county of Gloucester, absolutely in obedience, but so alarmed all other parts, that none of the gentry, who for the most part were well affected, durst stay at their own houses,) might be wholly the King's quarters; and by how much it had offended and disquieted the King, more than other counties, by so much the more money might be raised upon them." Besides the general weekly contributions, the yeomanry, who had been most forward and seditious, being very wealthy, and able to redeem their delinquency at a high price, (and these arguments were fully pressed by the well affected gentry of the county, who had carried themselves honestly, and suffered very much by doing so, and undertook great levies of men, if this work were first done,) there was another argument of no less, if not greater, moment than all the rest: "if Gloucester were reduced, there would need no forces to be left in Wales, and all those soldiers might be then drawn to the marching army, and the contributions and other taxes assigned to the payment of it." Indeed the King would have had a glorious and entire part of his kingdom, to have contended with the rest.

Yet all these motives were not thought worth the en-



gaging his army in a doubtful siege; whilst the Parliament might both recover the fear that was upon them, and consequently allay and compose the distempers, (which, if they did not wholly proceed from, were very much strengthened by, those fears,) and recruit their army; and therefore that it was better to march into some of those counties which were most oppressed by the enemy, and there wait such advantage, as the distraction in and about London would administer, except there could be some probable hope that Gloucester might be got without much delay. And to that purpose there had been secret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly expected. The Governor of that garrison was one Colonel Massy, a soldier of fortune, who had, in the late northern expeditions prepared by the King against Scotland, been an officer in the King's army, under the command of Colonel William Leg; and, in the beginning of these troubles, had been at York with inclination to serve the King; but finding himself not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten, but the comfort of a good conscience, he went to London, where there was more money, and fewer officers; and was easily made Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of Stamford; and being quickly found to be a diligent and stout officer, and of no ill parts of conversation to render himself acceptable among the common people, was by his Lordship, when he went into the West, left Governor of that city of Gloucester, where he had behaved himself actively and successfully. There was no reason to despair, that this man (not intoxicated with any of those fumes which made men rave, and frantic in the cause) might not be wrought upon. And Will. Leg, who had the good opinion of most men, and the particular kindness of Prince Rupert, had sent a messenger, who was like to pass without suspicion to Gloucester, with such a letter of kindness and overture to Massy, as was proper in such a case from one friend to another. This messenger returned when the King's and the army's motion was under debate, and brought an answer from the Governor to Colonel Leg, in a very high style, and seem-

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ing to take it much unkindly, "that he should endeavour  
 "to corrupt him in his honesty and fidelity, and to per-  
 "suade him to break a trust, which, to save his life, he  
 "would never do;" with much discourse "of his honour  
 "and reputation, which would be always dear to him."  
 But the messenger said withal, "that, after the Governor  
 "had given him this letter, and some sharp reproaches  
 "before company, he was brought again, a back way, to a  
 "place where the Governor was by himself; and then he  
 "told him, that it was most necessary he should write  
 "such an answer as he had done; which was communi-  
 "cated to those, who else would have been jealous what  
 "such a messenger should come to him about; but that  
 "he should tell Will. Leg, that he was the same man he  
 "had ever been, his servant; and that he wished the  
 "King well; that he heard Prince Rupert meant to bring  
 "the army before that town; if he did, he would defend  
 "it as well as he could; and his Highness would find an-  
 "other work than he had at Bristol; but if the King  
 "himself came with his army, and summoned it, he would  
 "not hold it against him: for it would not stand with his  
 "conscience to fight against the person of the King; be-  
 "sides that in such a case, he should be able to persuade  
 "those of the town; which otherwise he could not do."

This message turned the scale; for though it might be  
 without purpose of being honest, yet there was no great  
 objection against the King's marching that way with his  
 army; since it would be still in his power to pursue any  
 other counsel, without engaging before it. And it was to  
 some a sign that he meant well, because he had not  
 hanged, or at least imprisoned, the messenger who came  
 to him on such an errand. Hereupon the King resolved  
 for Gloucester, but not to be engaged in a siege; and so  
 sent his army that way; and the next day (having first  
 sent Sir Ralph Hopton a warrant to create him Baron  
 Hopton of Stratton, in memory of the happy battle fought  
 there) with the remainder of his forces marched towards it.  
 On Wednesday the tenth of August, the King ranged his

whole army upon a fair hill, in the clear view of the city, and within less than two miles of it; and then, being about two of the clock in the afternoon, he sent a trumpet with this summons to the town.

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Gloucester,  
and summons it,  
Aug. 10,  
1643.

“ Out of our tender compassion to our city of Gloucester, and that it may not receive prejudice by our army, which we cannot prevent if we be compelled to assault it, we are personally come before it to require the same; and are graciously pleased to let all the inhabitants of, and all other persons within that city, as well soldiers as others, know, that if they shall immediately submit themselves, and deliver this our city to us, we are contented, freely and absolutely to pardon every one of them, without exception; and do assure them, in the word of a King, that they, nor any of them shall receive the least damage or prejudice by our army in their persons or estates; but that we will appoint such a Governor, and a moderate garrison to reside there, as shall be both for the ease and security of that city, and that whole county. But if they shall neglect this proffer of grace and favour, and compel us, by the power of our army, to reduce that place, (which, by the help of God, we doubt not, we shall be easily and shortly able to do,) they must thank themselves for all the calamities and miseries must befall them. To this message we expect a clear and positive answer, within two hours after the publishing hereof; and by these presents do give leave to any persons, safely to repair to and return from us, whom that city shall desire to employ unto us in that business: and do require all the officers and soldiers of our army, quietly to suffer them to pass accordingly.”

Within less than the time prescribed, together with the trumpeter returned two citizens from the town, with lean, pale, sharp, and bad visages, indeed faces so strange and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad; for it was impossible such ambassadors could bring less than a defiance. The men, without



BOOK any circumstances of duty, or good manners, in a pert,  
 VII. shrill, undismayed accent, said, " they had brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester to the King;" and were so ready to give insolent and seditious answers to any question, as if their business were chiefly to provoke the King to violate his own safe conduct. The answer they brought was in writing, in these very words.

*August 10th, 1643.*

The citizens' and garrison's answer.

" We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and soldiers, within this garrison of Gloucester, unto his Majesty's gracious message return this humble answer: That we do keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the use of his Majesty, and his royal posterity: and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his Majesty, signified by both Houses of Parliament: and are resolved, by God's help, to keep this city accordingly."

This paper was subscribed by Wise the Mayor, and Massey the Governor, with thirteen of the Aldermen, and most substantial citizens, and eleven officers of the garrison; and as soon as their messengers returned, who were quickly dismissed, without attending to see what the King resolved, all the suburbs of the city, in which were very large and fair buildings, well inhabited, were set on fire; so that there was no doubt, the King was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new debates, and new resolutions; to which men came not so unbiassed, or unswayed, as they had been at Bristol. This indignity and affront to the King prompted thoughts of revenge; and some thought the King so far engaged, that in honour he could not do less than sit down before the town, and force it: and these inclinations gave countenance and credit to all those plausible informations, " of small provisions in the town, either of victual, or ammunition; that, where the town was strongest, there was nothing but an old stone wall, which would fall upon an easy battery; that there were many well affected people

“ in the town, who, with those who were incensed by the  
 “ burning of the suburbs, and the great losses they must  
 “ sustain thereby, would make such a party, that as soon  
 “ as they were distressed, the seditious party would be  
 “ forced to yield.” It was alleged, “ that the enemy had no  
 “ army; nor, by all intelligence, was like to form any soon  
 “ enough to be able to relieve it; and if they had an army,  
 “ that it was much better for his Majesty to force them to  
 “ that distance from London, and to fight there, where he  
 “ could be supplied with whatsoever he wanted, could  
 “ choose his own ground, where his brave body of horse  
 “ would be able to defeat any army they could raise, than  
 “ to seek them in their own quarters.”

Above all, the confidence of the soldiers of the best experience moved his Majesty; who upon riding about the town, and taking a near view of it, were clear of opinion, that they should be able in less than ten days by approach, for all thoughts of storming were laid aside upon the loss at Bristol, to win it. This produced a resolution in his Majesty, not one man in the council of war dissuading it. So the King presently sent to Oxford for his General the Earl of Brentford “ to come to him, with all the foot that  
 “ could be spared out of that garrison, and his pieces of  
 “ battery, to govern that action:” Prince Rupert wisely declining that province, and retiring himself into the Generalship of the Horse, that he might not be thought accountable for any accidents which should attend that service. At the same instant, orders were dispatched to Sir William Vavasour, who commanded all the forces in South Wales, (the Lord Herbert having been persuaded so far to comply with the indisposition of that people, as to decline that command, or at least for a time to dissemble it,) “ to  
 “ draw all his men to the Forest side of the town;” where the bridges being broken down, a small strength would keep them in, and any from going to them, which within two days was done. Thus the King was engaged before Gloucester; and thereby gave respite to the distracted spirits at London, to breathe, and compose themselves;

The King  
besieges the  
town.

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and, more methodically than they had hoped to have done, to prepare for their preservation, and accomplishing their own ends; which at that time seemed almost desperate and incurable.

The direful news of the surrender of Bristol, which was brought to the two Houses on the 31st of July, struck them to the heart, and came upon them as a sentence of death, after a vast consumption of money, and confident promises of destroying all the King's forces by a day, every tax and imposition being declared to be the last; and for finishing the work, the Earl of Essex was at the same time returned to Kingston, within ten miles of them, with his broken and dismayed troops, which himself would not endure should have the title of an army. So that the war seemed to be even at an end in a sense very contrary to what they had undertaken; their General talking more, and pressing for reparation, and vindication of his honour from imputations and aspersions, than for a recruit of forces, or providing an army to defend them. Every man reproached his neighbour with his want of inclination to peace, when good conditions might be had, and magnified his own wisdom, for having feared "it would come to this." The King's last declaration had been read by all men, and was magnified "as a most gracious and undeniable instance of his clemency and justice, that he was so far from being elated with his good successes, and power almost to have what he would, that he renewed all those promises, and protestations for the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, and privileges of Parliament; which had been out of their perverseness discredited before, as proceeding from the low condition he was in; and whereas they had been frightened with their representation of their own guilt, and the implacableness of the King's nature, as if he meant an utter conquest of them, his Majesty had now offered all that could be honestly desired, and had expressed himself a Prince not delighted with blood and revenge, but an indulgent father to the most disobedient children." In this reformation of un-



derstanding, the Lords in their House debated nothing but expedients for peace: there were not of that body above five, at the most, who had any inclination to continue the war; and the Earl of Essex had sufficiently declared, "that he was weary of it," and held closest and strictest correspondence with those who most passionately pressed an accommodation. So that, on the fifth of August, they desired a conference with the Commons; and declared to them, "that they were resolved to send propositions to the King, and they hoped, they would concur in them:" the particulars proposed by them were,

1. "That both armies might be presently disbanded, and his Majesty be intreated to return to his Parliament, upon such security as should give him satisfaction.

2. "That religion might be settled with the advice of a synod of divines, in such a manner as his Majesty, with the consent of both Houses of Parliament, should appoint.

3. "That the militia, both by sea and land, might be settled by a bill; and the militia, forts, and ships of the kingdom, put into such hands as the King should appoint, with the approbation of both Houses of Parliament: and his Majesty's revenue to be absolutely and wholly restored unto him; only deducting such part, as had been of necessity expended for the maintenance of his children, and not otherwise.

4. "That all the members of both Houses who had been expelled only for absenting themselves, or mere compliance with his Majesty, and no other matter of fact against them, might be restored to their places.

5. "That all Delinquents, from before the tenth day of January 1641, should be delivered up to the justice of Parliament, and a general pardon for all others on both sides.

6. And lastly, "That there might be an act of oblivion, for all by-gone deeds, and acts of hostility."

When this conference was reported in the House of Commons, it begot a wonderful long and a hot debate,

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which lasted till ten of the clock that night, and continued a day or two more; the violent party (for there were yet many among them of more moderate constitutions, who did, and ever had heartily abhorred their proceedings, though out of fear, and indisposition of health, or not knowing else well what to do, they continued there) inveighed furiously against the design itself of sending to the King at all, and therefore would not have the particular propositions so much as considered: "They had received much prejudice by the last treaty at Oxford, and therefore must undergo more now their condition was much lower: the King had since that, upon the matter, declared them to be no Parliament; for if they were not free, they could not be a Parliament; so that till that point were vindicated, they could not treat in any safe capacity, but would be looked upon under the notion of rebels, as his Majesty had declared them. They had sent members into Scotland to require assistance, which that kingdom was preparing with all brotherly affection and forwardness; and after such a discovery, to treat for peace, without the privity of the Scots, was to betray them; and to forfeit all hopes hereafter of relief from thence, what necessities soever they might be reduced to. That the city of London had expressed all imaginable readiness to raise forces for Sir William Waller; and the counties near London were ready to rise as one man, whereby the Earl of Essex would be speedily enabled to march, with a better army than ever he had, to give the King battle, except this discourse of peace did extinguish the zeal that was then flaming in the hearts of the people."

But notwithstanding these reasons, and the passion in the delivery, the terror of the King's successes suggested answers enough. "They had been punished for breaking off the treaty of Oxford, when they might have had better terms than now they could expect; and if they omitted this opportunity, they should fare much worse; that they were not sure of aid from Scotland, neither

“ was it almost possible it should come time enough to  
“ preserve them from the ruin at hand. And for the city  
“ of London, though the common and meaner sort of peo-  
“ ple, who might promise themselves advantage by it, de-  
“ sired the continuance of the distractions, yet it was evi-  
“ dent the most substantial and rich men desired peace,  
“ by their refusal to supply money for the carrying on the  
“ war; and if they should judge of the common people  
“ by their forwardness to engage their own persons, they  
“ had reason to believe they had no mind to the war nei-  
“ ther; for their General was forced to retire even under  
“ their own walls, for want of men to recruit his army.  
“ However, the sending reasonable propositions to the  
“ King would either procure a peace, and so they should  
“ have no more need of an army; or, being refused, would  
“ raise more men and money, than all their ordinances  
“ without it.” These reasons and arguments prevailed;  
and after the debate had lasted till ten of the clock at  
night, it was resolved upon the question, and carried by  
nine and twenty voices, “ That they should insist upon  
“ the propositions, and send to his Majesty.”

And without doubt, if they had then sent, (as, if the  
power had been in the two Houses of Parliament, they  
had done,) a firm peace had immediately ensued: for be-  
sides that if a treaty and cessation had been in that con-  
juncture entered upon, no extravagant demand would have  
been pressed, only a security for those who had been  
faulty, which the King would gladly have granted, and  
most religiously observed; the fourth proposition, and  
consent to restore all members to their places in Parlia-  
ment, would have prevented the kindling any more fire in  
those Houses. But this was too well known to be suf-  
fered to pass; and therefore the next day, being Sunday,  
the seditious preachers filled all the pulpits with alarms of  
“ ruin and destruction to the city, if a peace were now  
“ offered to the King;” and printed papers were scattered  
through the streets, and fixed upon gates, posts, and the  
most public places in the city and suburbs, requiring “ all



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“ persons well affected to rise as one man, and to come to the House of Commons next morning; for that twenty thousand Irish rebels were landed;” which information was likewise given that day in many pulpits by their preachers; and in other papers likewise set up, it was declared, “ that the malignant party had over-voted the good, and, if not prevented, there would be a peace.”

A petition  
of the  
Common  
Council of  
London  
against  
peace;

When the minds of the people were thus prepared, Pennington, their own Lord Mayor, though on Sunday, (on which they before complained the King used to sit in council,) called a common council; where a petition was framed to the House of Commons, taking notice “ of propositions passed by the House of Peers for peace, which if consented to, and allowed, would be destructive to religion, laws, and liberties; and therefore desired that House to pass an ordinance, according to the tenor of an act of their Common Council,” (which they appointed to be annexed to their petition,) “ which was for the vigorous prosecuting the war, and declining all thoughts of accommodation.” With this petition, and such an attendance as those preparatives were like to bring, the Lord Mayor himself, who, from the time of his mayoralty, had forborne sitting in the House as a member, came to the House of Commons, and delivered it, with such farther insinuations of the temper of the city, as were fit for the purpose; the people at the door behaving themselves as imperiously, telling the members of both Houses, as they passed by them, “ that if they had not a good answer, they would be there the next day with double the number.” The Lords complained of the tumults, and sent to the Commons to join with them in their suppression; instead whereof the Commons (many of their body withdrawing for fear, and others by fear converted, or it may be by hope of prevailing) gave the city thanks “ for their petition, advice, and courage;” and rejected the propositions for peace.

whereupon  
the House  
of Com-  
mons re-  
jected the  
proposi-  
tions of the  
Lords.

This raised a new contest in the city, which was not willing to lie under the perpetual brand of resisting and

opposing peace, as they did of first raising the war. And therefore the wise and sober part of it would gladly have discovered how averse they were from the late act of the Common Council. But the late execution of Tomkins and Chaloner, and the advantage which was presently taken against any man who was moderately inclined, frightened all men from appearing in person to desire those things upon which their hearts were most set. In the end, the women expressed greater courage than the men; and having a precedent of a rabble of that sex, appearing in the beginning of these distractions with a petition to the House of Commons, to foment the divisions, with acceptance and approbation, a great multitude of the wives of substantial citizens came to the House of Commons with a petition for peace. Thereupon a troop of horse, under the command of one Harvey, a decayed silkman, who from the beginning had been one most confided in, were sent for; who behaved themselves with such inhumanity, that they charged among the silly women, as an enemy worthy of their courage, and killed and wounded many of them, and easily dispersed the rest. When they were by this means secured from farther vexation of this kind, special notice was taken of those members who seemed most importunate, and desirous of peace, that some advantage might be taken against them. Whereupon, they well discerning the danger they were in, many both of the Peers and the Commons first absented themselves from the Houses, and then removed into those quarters where they might enjoy the protection of the King; and some of them came directly to Oxford.

Having diverted this torrent, which would have brought peace upon them before they were aware, they considered their strength, and applied themselves to the recovery of the spirits of their General; whose indisposition troubled them more than any other distress they were in. To this cure they applied remedies of contrary natures, which would yet work to the same end. First they caressed Sir William Waller with wonderful kindness and esteem; and

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An ordinance for raising an army under the Earl of Manchester.

as he was met upon his return to London, after the most total defeat that could almost be imagined, (for though few of his horse were killed upon the place, they were so ruinously dispersed, that of above two thousand, there were not three hundred gotten together again for their service,) with all the trained bands and militia of London, and received as if he had brought the King prisoner with him; so he was immediately chosen governor and commander in chief of the forces and militia of London, for the defence of the city; and it was now declared, "that they would forthwith supply him with a good body of horse and foot, to take the field again, and relieve their distressed friends in the West." Then another ordinance was passed to raise a great army, under the command of the Earl of Manchester, (who had been always steady to his first principles, and never a friend to any overture of accommodation,) in order to opposing the Earl of Newcastle, and to take charge of all the associated counties; which were Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntington, and (by a new addition) Lincoln; and for the speedy raising men to join to those who would voluntarily list themselves under these two beloved Generals, there was an ordinance passed both Houses for the pressing of men; which seemed somewhat to discredit their cause, that, after so much pretence to the hearts of the people, they should be now compelled to fight, whether they would or no; and was the more wondered at, because they had themselves procured the King's consent to an act this Parliament, that declared it to be unlawful to press, or compel any of the freeborn subjects to march out of the county in which they lived, if he were not willing so to do; and direction was given by other ordinances to press great numbers of men, to serve both under the Earl of Manchester, and Sir William Waller; and having thus provided for the worst, and let the Earl of Essex discern, that they had another Earl to trust to, and more Generals than one at their devotion, they sent a formal committee of both Houses to him, to use all imaginable art, and ap-



plication to him, to recover him to his former vigour, and zeal in their cause. They told him “ the high value the  
“ Houses had of the service he had done, and the hazards,  
“ dangers, and losses he had for their sakes undergone:  
“ that he should receive as ample a vindication for the ca-  
“ lumnies and aspersions raised on him, as he could de-  
“ sire, from the full testimony and confidence of the two  
“ Houses; and if the infamous authors of them could be  
“ found, their punishment should be as notorious as their  
“ libels: that no other forces should be recruited till his  
“ were made up; and that all his soldiers’ arrears should  
“ be paid, and clothes presently sent for his foot.”

Whether these reasons, with the jealousy of the Earl of Manchester, upon whom he plainly saw the violent party wholly depended, or the infusions poured into him by the Lord Say and Mr. Pym, of the desperateness of his own condition, with an opinion, upon the differences between the two Princes and the Marquis of Hertford, that the Marquis’s services were not enough valued by the King, (which many desired should be thought to have then some influence upon the Earl,) or whether he had not steadiness enough to engage in so hazardous an enterprise, he grew insensibly altered from his moderate inclinations, and desire of peace; for it is most certain, that as the confidence in him gave many lords the spirit to appear champions for peace, who had been before as solicitous against it, so the design was then the same, which hath been since prosecuted, with effect, to a worse purpose, that is, for the members of both Houses who were of one mind, upon that signal riot, and compelling the House of Commons to renounce their former resolution of propositions to the King, to have gone to the Earl of Essex, and there, under the security of their own army, to have protested against the violence which was offered, the breach of their privileges by the Common Council’s taking notice of their counsels, and overruling their conclusions, and to have declared their want of freedom: by means whereof, they made no doubt to have drawn the Houses to consent to

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such an agreement as the King would well have approved of; or to have entered upon such a treaty themselves with the King, as all the moderate part of the kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended under.

But this staggering in their General frustrated that design, and put them to other resolutions; and so, having rendered themselves very ungracious in the Houses, and possibly suspecting the Earl of Essex might discover some of their overtures, many of the Lords left the town, and went either directly to Oxford, or into the King's quarters; the Earl of Portland, and the Lord Lovelace, (of whose good affections to his service the King had always assurance, and who had only stayed there, as at a place where they might do him more service, than any where else,) directly to Oxford; and the Lord Conway shortly after them; the Earl of Clare into Worcestershire, and from thence, by the King's free acceptance, to Oxford; there being no other objection against his Lordship, than his staying so long at London; but his total differing with them in all their extravagances, he having no manner of relation to the Court, rendered him to his Majesty's opinion under a very good character. The Earls of Bedford and Holland, not without some difficulty, their purpose being discovered or suspected, got into the King's garrison at Wallingford, from whence the Governor gave advertisement of their arrival; the Earl of Northumberland, with the leave of the House, retired for his health to his house at Petworth in Sussex; which though it was in a county entirely then at the Parliament's devotion, yet it was near enough to be infested from some of the King's quarters, if he had not some assurance of being safe there.

The Earls of Bedford and Holland put themselves into the King's quarters, as likewise some other of the Parliament Lords.

The violent party carried now all before them, and were well contented with the absence of those who used to give them some trouble and vexation. For the better strengthening themselves with the people, they ordered the Divines of the Assembly to repair into the country to their cures, especially in the counties of the association under the Earl of Manchester, to stir up the people, with all their clo-

quence, to rise as one man against their Sovereign; and omitted nothing within their power, which might contribute to the raising men or money; being not a little joyed, when they understood the King had given them more time than they expected, to compose all disorders and divisions among themselves, by his staying with his army before Gloucester; which they took to be the greater blessing, and preservation to them, because at the same time there were sudden insurrections in Kent against their ordinances and jurisdiction, in defence of the known laws, and especially of the Book of Common Prayer; which, if the King's army had been at any distance to have countenanced, they would never have been able to suppress.

The fame of all these distractions and disorders at London exceedingly disposed men in all places to reproach his Majesty's stay before Gloucester; his friends at London desiring that his Majesty should march directly thither, to take the advantage of those distractions; and the Lords of the council at Oxford, upon the intelligence and advice from thence, were very solicitous that the King would take that resolution, to which he was himself enough inclined. But his condition was believed to be, in both places, better than it was; and that he had now a victorious army, without an enemy to restrain his motion: whereas, in truth, his was a weak army, lessened exceedingly by the losses it sustained before Bristol; and when that part of it was marched with Prince Maurice into the West, and which could not have marched any other way, the King had not much above six thousand foot to march with, though he left none at Bristol, but obliged my Lord Hopton to garrison it as he could, which he shortly did; and that would have appeared a very small army to have marched towards London; though it is true the horse was a noble body, and superior in number to that of the foot.

There was likewise another circumstance, that few men were then acquainted with: upon the first news of the taking of Bristol, his Majesty, before he left Oxford, had sent an express to the Earl of Newcastle, who was then en-



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gaged before Hull, "that if he found the business of Hull  
 "to be more difficult than he expected, he should leave it  
 "blocked up at a distance, which might restrain excursions into the country, and march with his army into the  
 "associated counties;" which comprehended Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Essex, &c. which had associated themselves, by some agreement, to serve the Parliament; though the better part of all those counties, especially of the two greater, were most affected to the King, and wished for an opportunity to express it; and if the Earl would bring his army through those counties towards London, his Majesty would then resolve, with his own, to march towards it on the other side. And in the very time that his Majesty came before Gloucester, and before he took the resolution to sit down before it, that express returned from the Earl of Newcastle, who informed him, "that it was  
 "impossible for him to comply with his commands, in  
 "marching with his army into the associated counties, for  
 "that the gentlemen of the country, who had the best  
 "regiments, and were among the best officers, utterly refused to march, except Hull were first taken; and that  
 "he had not strength enough to march and to leave Hull  
 "securely blocked up:" which advertisement, with the consideration before mentioned, of the enlarging his quarters by the taking of Gloucester, and the concurrence of all the officers, that it would speedily be taken, produced that resolution of attempting it, notwithstanding that the Queen herself writ so importunately against it, that his Majesty thought it necessary to make a journey himself to Oxford, to convince her Majesty, and to compose some distempers which were risen among his council there, upon the news of the arrival of some of the Lords mentioned before in those quarters.

The King was newly set down before Gloucester, when the Governor of Wallingford sent notice to Oxford, of the arrival of those two Earls; to whom the Lords of the council returned direction, "that they should stay there, till the  
 "King's pleasure was understood;" to whom the Secre-

Debates in  
 the Council  
 at Oxford  
 how those  
 Lords  
 should be  
 received.

tary had sent the information, and desired his Majesty's will concerning their reception. The King well knew, any order he should give in it would be liable to many objections, and he had not so good an inclination to either of them, as to run any inconvenience for their sakes; the Earl of Bedford having served in person against him, as the General of the rebels' horse; and the Earl of Holland, in the King's opinion, having done worse. And therefore his Majesty commanded, "that his Privy Council should debate the matter among themselves, and present their opinion and advice to him; and he would then determine what kind of entertainment they should have." The opinions at the board were several; some thought, "that his Majesty should receive them very graciously, and with all outward expressions of his acceptance of their return to his service; and that the demeanour of all others to them should be such, as might make them think themselves very welcome, without the least taking notice of any thing formerly done amiss by them; which would be a great encouragement to others to come away too: so that the numbers and quality of those who stayed behind would probably in a short time be so small, that they would have no reputation in the kingdom to continue the war." Many differed diametrically from this; and were so far from thinking this advice agreeable to the dignity or security of the King, that they thought it not fit "to admit them presently to the King's or Queen's presence, till, by their good carriage and demeanour, they should give some testimony of their affections: they had both taken the late Covenant, of which one clause was, to assist the forces raised by the Parliament, against the army raised by the King; with many reproaches, and known scandals upon that army. If they had felt a true remorse of conscience for the ill they had done, they would have left that party, when that Covenant was to be imposed upon them; which since they did not, that they came now was to be imputed rather to the King's success, and the weakness of that power which they had

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“ hitherto served, than to any reformation of their under-  
 “ standing, or improvement of their allegiance: and that  
 “ it was great reason, that they who had given such argu-  
 “ ments of just jealousy and suspicion of themselves,  
 “ should raise a confidence in their loyalty and affection by  
 “ some act equal to the other; and therefore none who had  
 “ taken that Covenant, should be admitted to the presence  
 “ of the King, Queen, or Prince, before he had taken some  
 “ other oath or covenant, declaring an equal hatred and  
 “ abhorring of the rebellious arms which were taken up  
 “ against his Majesty, and the counsels by which they were  
 “ taken up.”

It was said, “ that the good or ill reception of these  
 “ lords could have no influence upon the actions or deli-  
 “ berations at Westminster, or London, or any considerable  
 “ persons there: that they were but single men, without  
 “ any considerable dependence upon them. Whilst they  
 “ had reputation and interest enough to do good or hurt,  
 “ and the King’s condition needed their attendance, they  
 “ chose to be engaged against him; but now, when they  
 “ were able to do him no more harm, they came to receive  
 “ benefit and advantage from him: that it was a common  
 “ argument men used to allege to themselves for their  
 “ compliance with, and submission to, the commands of  
 “ the Parliament; that, if they did otherwise, their severity  
 “ and rigour was so great, that they and their families were  
 “ sure to be ruined; but, if the King prevailed, he was  
 “ gracious and merciful, and would remit their offences  
 “ whensoever they cast themselves at his feet; which pre-  
 “ sumption if they should see confirmed in this example,  
 “ it would make the observation of conscience and loyalty  
 “ of no price, and encourage those who were risen against  
 “ him, and exceedingly dishearten those who had been  
 “ honest and faithful from the beginning: that there could  
 “ ensue no inconvenience from any reservedness and cold-  
 “ ness towards them; for they durst not return to London,  
 “ having now made themselves odious to that party, and  
 “ having no hope but from the acceptance of his Majesty;



“ which they should merit before they found.” There was a third opinion between these extremes, “ that they should be neither courted nor neglected, but be admitted to kiss the King’s and Queen’s hands, and to dispose themselves as they thought fit; and so to leave the rest to their future demeanour:” and to resolve which of these opinions to follow, was another motive for his Majesty’s sudden journey to Oxford.

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The King found greater alterations in the minds and spirits at Oxford, than he expected after so much success as had befallen him; and that success was it, that had made the alteration; it being the unlucky temper of that place, and that company, to be the soonest and the most desperately cast down upon any misfortune or loss, and to be again, upon any victory, the most elated, and the most apt to undervalue any difficulties which remained. The taking Bristol had so possessed them with joy, that they thought the war even at an end, and that there was nothing left to be done, but to take possession of London; which they were assured would be delivered to them upon demand. Many members of both Houses were come to Oxford, which assured them, “ the violent people there were even in despair; and after the news came of the surrender of Bristol, that they had only kept up their spirits in hopes that the King would engage his army in the siege of Gloucester, which some of them had seemed to promise their friends would be the case:” from whence they would infer, “ that the King was betrayed, and that they who had persuaded him to undertake that design, were corrupted by the Parliament.” And the envy and jealousy of all this fell upon Sir John Colepeper, who was indeed of the opinion for the siege, but, without doubt, how much soever he suffered at that time, and afterwards, under that reproach, he believed there was very good reason for that engagement, and was most free from any corrupt end, and of most sincere fidelity.

The King  
comes to  
Oxford to  
consult  
about it.

This discourse and imagination had made wonderful impression upon the Queen; who was inflamed with a

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jealousy that there was a design to lessen her interest in the King, and that Prince Rupert was chief in that conspiracy, and meant to bring it to pass by keeping the King still in the army, and by hindering his coming to Oxford: and out of this apprehension the Queen had written so warmly and concernedly to the King, who was the most incapable of any such apprehensions, and had her Majesty in so perfect an adoration, that as soon as he received that letter, without delay he came to Oxford, and quickly composed those mistakes; though the being engaged before Gloucester was still very grievous, and reproaches were publicly cast upon those who gave the advice.

But that which took up most of the time of that one day that the King stayed at Oxford, was concerning the two lords who were retained at Wallingford; which had been agitated in the council with great passion before the King's coming. The King caused the council to meet the next morning, and asked their advice, "whether the Earls of Bedford and of Holland should be admitted to come into Oxford, or obliged to return from whence they came? or, if admitted, how they should be received, or countenanced by their Majesties?" And it cannot be enough wondered at, that there should be any difference of opinion in that matter; but it cannot be expressed, with how much earnestness and unreasonableness the whole was debated, and how warmly even they, who in all other debates still expressed all moderation and temper, did now oppose the receiving these lords with any grace, with more passion, and other reasons, than had been offered in their former conferences; so that there was scarce known such an union in opinion at that board, in any thing, where disunion was very inconvenient.

All exaggerated "the carriage and foul ingratitude of the Earl of Holland, from the beginning of the Parliament; and the Earl of Bedford's being General of the horse in the Earl of Essex's army; and now when the Parliament was low, and they had lost their credit and interest there, they were come to the King, whom they

“ had so much offended ; and expected to be as much, it  
 “ may be, more made of, than they who had borne the  
 “ heat of the day ; which would so much reflect upon the  
 “ King’s honour, that men would be exceedingly discour-  
 “ aged to serve him.” Some moved, “ that they might  
 “ be detained, and kept prisoners of war, since they came  
 “ into the King’s quarters without any pass ;” others as  
 plainly and more vehemently pressed, “ that they might  
 “ not be suffered to come to Oxford, or where the King or  
 “ Queen should be ; but permitted to live in some other  
 “ place within the King’s quarters, until they should ma-  
 “ nifest their affections by some service.” They who  
 thought this too severe and unpolitic, proposed “ that they  
 “ might be suffered to come to Oxford, that thereby they  
 “ might be kept from returning to the Parliament,” (which  
 appeared to most to be liable to many exceptions,) “ but  
 “ that being at Oxford, they should not come to Court ;  
 “ and that no Privy Counsellor should visit them.”

In this whole debate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,  
 who seldom spoke without some earnestness, was the only  
 man (except another, who brought no credit to the opi-  
 nion, the Lord Savile) who advised confidently, “ that  
 “ they might be very graciously received by both their  
 “ Majesties, and civilly be visited and treated by every  
 “ body ; that other men might, by the entertainment they  
 “ received, be encouraged to desert the Parliament too.”  
 He said, “ it would be too great a disadvantage to the  
 “ King, and to his cause, that whilst the Parliament used  
 “ all the industry and artifices, to corrupt the duty and af-  
 “ fection of the subject, and had their arms open to re-  
 “ ceive and embrace all, who would come to them, his  
 “ Majesty should admit none to return to him, who had  
 “ been faulty, or not come so soon as they ought to have  
 “ done ; that if the King had a mind to gratify and oblige  
 “ the Parliament, he could not do it more to their hearts’  
 “ desire, than by rejecting the application of these lords,  
 “ or suffering it to pass unregarded.” There was one  
 argument against their admission urged very loudly, “ that



BOOK VII. "it would disturb the peace of the place;" the Earl of Bedford had commanded that part of the army, which invested the Marquis of Hertford, at his being at Sherborne, when the Marquis had sent Harry Seymour, as is mentioned before, with a challenge to the Earl to fight with him; which the Earl reasonably declined at that time; and said, "he would be ready, when the business of the Parliament should be over, to wait upon the Marquis when he should require it." And some men, who were near enough to the Marquis's counsels, undertook to know, that if the Earl of Bedford should be in Oxford, the Marquis, who was every day expected, would exact the performance of his promise; which sure he was too wise to do.

The King, during the whole debate, did not express any thing of his own sense, save that he seemed well pleased with any sharpness that was expressed towards the Earl of Holland. He said, "that he was bound to his good behaviour, by being under the common reproach of inclining too much to those who had used him worst; of which he would not be guilty:" however, he did not think, at this time, that it would be good to make any persons desperate; and therefore gave order, "that the Governor of Wallingford should permit them to continue their journey to Oxford; where all men might use what civilities they pleased to them; and that himself and the Queen would do that towards them, which, upon their application and address, they should think fit:" and though this determination was given, without the least discovery of grace towards the persons of those lords, and not without some reflections of prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the table; which was evident enough by their countenance. The next morning the King returned to the army.

There had been, as is said, very great divisions in the counsels at Westminster, from the time of the treaty, and the very abrupt breaking it off; and the Earl of Northumberland, resenting the affront done to him by Martin, had increased those divisions; and the ill successes after-

wards in the defeat of Waller, and the taking of Bristol, had given every man courage to say what he would. And then the proceeding upon Mr. Waller's discovery, and obliging all men to take a desperate engagement, which they durst not refuse, for fear of being declared guilty of the plot, as many of them were, incensed very many: but above all, the prosperity of the King's affairs made every body wish to come into his quarters. A great number of the House of Commons, who were known always to wish well, came to Oxford: and of the Peers, the Earl of Portland, who was always very faithful to the King, and had stayed in the House of Peers by his Majesty's leave, and had been accused by Mr. Waller to be privy to that design, upon which he had endured a long imprisonment, came at this time to Oxford, as is said before, together with the Lord Conway, and the Lord Lovelace; the former of which had been likewise questioned, and imprisoned, and the latter had been as knowing of the matter, and of constant duty to the King; and all three had gotten liberty and opportunity to come away by swallowing that vow, and oath, which could only set them free, and which they made haste to answer for to the King. The return of the Earl of Essex to London in ill humour, had given opportunity to the Earl of Holland, and the rest, who were weary of the work in hand, to inflame him to resentment of the neglects which had been put upon him, and the jealousies which were entertained of him. The Earl of Bedford had given up his commission of General of the horse, and quitted the service, and never had any affection to their ways in his judgment. The Earl of Clare had been with the King at York, and had his leave to return to London, to intend his own particular affairs; and, during his stay, had never concurred in any malicious counsel against the King, but was looked upon as a man, not only firm to the principles of monarchy, but of duty to the person of the King. He was a man of honour, and of courage, and would have been an excellent person, if his heart had not been set too much upon the keeping and improv-

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ing his estate; he was weary of the company he kept, and easily hearkened to the Earl of Holland, in any consultation how to recover the King's authority, and to put an end to the war. The Earl of Essex was, as is said before, enough provoked, and incensed, and willingly heard all the Lords, and others, who inveighed against the violent proceedings of those who swayed the Parliament, and differed not with them in his judgment of the men, and the matter: so that they believed that he would as readily be disposed to agree upon the remedy, as he did upon the disease.

Their end and design was, as I said, if they could draw him to a concurrence, that they, and all the rest of those who were accounted moderate men, that is who desired a peace, and to return to their duty to the King, (which were much the major part of both Houses that remained at Westminster, after so many of both were gone to the King,) might all go to the army; and thereupon the General, and they, to write to the Parliament together, and to send such propositions to them, as the Parliament should transmit to the King, as the conditions of peace. If the King should refuse to consent to them, it would be an infallible way to unite all people to compel him to it: but if the Parliament would refuse to transmit those propositions to the King, or to consent to a peace upon those conditions, they would then declare against them, for not adhering to the grounds upon which the war was first begun, and would join themselves to the King to force them to it. If this had been done in that conjuncture, when the authority and credit of the Earl of Essex was not yet eclipsed, and before an independent army was raised, which was shortly after done, it could not probably have failed of the success desired. But the Earl was too scrupulous and too punctual to that which he called a trust; and this was too barefaced a separation for him to engage in: besides that he did believe, that he should be able to suppress that violent party by the Parliament itself, and he thought that would bring all about which he desired; and so he did



not only reject what was proposed to him, but expressed such a dislike of the Earl of Holland for proposing it, that he thought it high time to get himself out of his reach. The Earl of Holland, who always considered himself in the first place, had, from the time of the Queen's landing, privately made offer of his service to the Queen, and renewed his old confidence and friendship with Mr. Jermyn; and knowing well to enhance the value of his own service, made great promises of notable service; and Mr. Jermyn easily persuaded her Majesty, "that it was much better for her to restore an old servant, whom she knew so well, to her confidence, (though he had stepped out of the way,) than to rely upon the fidelity of any of those who were now about the King, and who were all upon the matter strangers to her, at least not enough known by her;" and then, "that, by laying hold upon this opportunity, she would, at her first coming to the King, carry his restoration with her, possess herself of the whole frame of his business, because all other designs would be laid aside; and so all the good, that would redound to the King and kingdom from this new negociation, must, by the consent of all the world, be attributed to her Majesty's wisdom and conduct." This appearing hopeful to her Majesty, and all that had any thing of hope was by the other always looked upon as certain, the correspondence was embraced; and the Earl assured not only to be restored to his former station in all respects, but to a title to new interests. And upon this encouragement and obligation, when he found he could not prevail with the Earl of Essex, that the King's affairs prospered, and that Bristol was now taken, and the Queen come to Oxford, he resolved himself to go thither, and prevailed with the Earls of Bedford and Clare to do the like; he assuring them, that they should be very well received. The Earl of Clare made his journey by himself, out of the common road, and came without any interruption into Oxford, at the time appointed: the Earls of Bedford and Holland came together to Wallingford, as is

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mentioned. The Earl of Northumberland, who was naturally suspicious, went to his own house at Petworth in Sussex; by which he thought he shewed aversion enough to the counsels at Westminster, and would keep it in his own power to return, if he found that the reception of the other Lords at Oxford was not answerable to their expectation; besides that he would expect the result of the Lord Conway's negociation, who was more trusted by him than any other.

The leave for the two Earls to come from Wallingford to Oxford, was declared but the night before the King returned to the army; and was not sent thither till the next day. So that the Lords came not to Oxford till two days after, much mortified with the time they had been forced to spend at Wallingford, and with the disputation they heard had been held concerning them; of which they had received so particular information, that the Earl of Holland writ a very civil letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer before he came to Oxford, taking notice of "the affection he had shewed to him in his advice to the King." Both of them had friends enough there to provide for their accommodation in convenient lodgings: so that the one had a lodging at Magdalen College in Oxford, of which house he had formerly been a member; the other lay in Balliol College, where he had a daughter, who spared him part of her lodgings. But for any application to them by the Lords, or persons in authority there, they had no reason to think themselves very welcome. They went, in the first place, to do their duties to the Queen; who received them coldly enough, not out of disinclination, or unwillingness to shew them any countenance, but pure compliance with the ill humour of the town, which she detested: nor did Mr. Jermy, who still valued himself upon the impossible faculty to please all, and displease none, think fit to deal clearly with them in that point, (having, probably, said more in his letters of correspondence and advice, than he had authority to do; it being his custom to write and speak what was most grate-

ful to the persons;) so that the Earl of Holland, with whom alone the correspondence had been, began to think himself betrayed, and invited to Oxford only to be exposed to contempt. He came one morning to visit the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when there were the Lord Cottington, and two or three other Privy Counsellors with him, who all went presently away, without so much as saluting him: which offended the Chancellor as much as it did him, and in truth obliged the Chancellor to more ceremony and civility, than, it may be, he would otherwise have practised; so that he did visit him again, and made all professions and offers of kindness and service to him; which he did very heartily; and complied therein, not only with his own inclinations, but with his judgment, as very important to the King's service; and did all he could to induce others to be of the same opinion; in which he had no great success.

The intelligence from London brought, every day, the resolution of the Parliament, "to relieve Gloucester;" and that, if their levies did not supply them with men soon enough, the Trained Bands of the city would march out with the General for that service; whereupon the three Earls, Bedford, Holland, and Clare, after some days stay in Oxford, thought it necessary to offer their service to the King in the army, and to bear their part in any danger that might happen by an engagement between the armies; and so went together to Gloucester; where the King received them without any disrespect, and spoke with them as they gave him occasion.

Whilst the King continued before Gloucester, his forces in the West moved with a full gale and tide of success. The Earl of Carnarvon marched with the horse and dragoons, being near two thousand, into Dorsetshire, two days before Prince Maurice moved with his foot and cannon from Bristol, and had made a fair entrance upon the reduction of that whole county, before his Highness overtook him; and it was thought then, that, if the Prince had marched more slowly, the Earl had perfected that

The King's  
affairs in  
the West.



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work. Upon the surrender of Bristol, many of the gentlemen, and others of that county, who were engaged in that city for the Parliament, had visited their houses and friends, in their journey to London, whither by their safe conduct they went, and had made such prodigious discourses of the fierceness and courage of the Cavaliers, (as most men who run away, or are beaten, extol the power of the enemy which had been too hard for them,) that resisting them begun to be thought a matter impossible. One Mr. Strode, a man much relied on in those parts, and of a good fortune, after he had visited his house, took Dorchester in his way to London, and being desired by the magistrates, “to view their works and fortifications, “and to give his judgment of them;” after he had walked about them, he told them, “that those works might keep “out the Cavaliers about half an hour;” and then told them strange stories of the manner of assaulting Bristol; “and that the King’s soldiers made nothing of running “up walls twenty foot high, and that no works could “keep them out;” which he said not out of any purpose to betray them, (for no man wished the King’s army worse success,) but had really so much horror and consternation about him, and the dreadful image of the storm of Bristol imprinted in his mind, that he did truly believe, they had scaled all those forts and places which were delivered to them; and he propagated this fear and trepidation so fruitfully where he came, that the Earl of Carnarvon came no sooner near Dorchester with his horse and dragoons, (which, it may be, was understood to be the van of the victorious army which had taken Bristol,) but the town sent commissioners to him to treat; and upon articles of indemnity, that they should not be plundered, and not suffer for the ill they had done, delivered up the town, (which was strongly situated, and might very well have been defended by the spirits of these people, if they had courage equal to their malice; for a place more entirely disaffected to the King, England had not,) with all their arms, ammunition, and ordnance. The fame of the Earl’s

Dorchester  
surrender-  
ed.

coming had before frightened Sir Walter Earl, who had for a long time besieged Corfe castle, (the house of the Lord Chief Justice Banks, defended by his Lady with her servants, and some few gentlemen, and tenants, who betook themselves thither for her assistance, and their own security,) from that siege; and he making more haste to convey himself to London, than generals use to do, who have the care and charge of others, his forces were presently dispersed. And now the surrender of Dorchester (the magazine from whence the other places were supplied with principles of rebellion) infused the same spirit into Weymouth, a very convenient harbour and haven: and that example again prevailed on the island and castle of Portland, (a place not enough understood, but of wonderful importance,) to all which the Earl granted fair conditions, and received them into his Majesty's protection.

Weymouth  
and Port-  
land sur-  
rendered  
to the  
King's  
forces.

Hither Prince Maurice came now up with foot and cannon, and neglecting to follow the train of the enemy's fears to Lyme and Poole, the only two garrisons then left in their possession, stayed with his army about Dorchester and Weymouth some days, under the notion of settling and disposing the government of those garrisons. Here the soldiers, taking advantage of the famous malignity of those places, used great licence; neither was there care taken to observe those articles which had been made upon the surrender of the towns; which the Earl of Carnarvon, who was full of honour and justice upon all contracts, took so ill, that he quitted the command he had with those forces, and returned to the King before Gloucester; which published the injustice with the more scandal. Whether this licence, which was much spoken of, and, no doubt, given out to be greater than it was, aliened the affections of those parts; or whether the absence of the Marquis of Hertford from the army, which was not till then taken notice of, begot an apprehension that there would not be much lenity used towards those who had been high and pertinacious offenders; or whether this army, when it was together, seemed less formidable than it was before conceived to be,

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Prince  
Maurice  
comes be-  
fore Exeter  
with his  
army.

or that the terror, which had possessed and seized upon their spirits, was so violent that it could not continue, and so men grew less amazed, I know not: but those two small towns, whereof Lyme was believed inconsiderable, returned so peremptory a refusal to the Prince's summons, that his Highness resolved not to attack them; and so marched to Exeter, where he found all things in better order, and that city more distressed, than he had reason to expect, by the diligence and dexterity of Sir John Berkley, who being sent from Wells by the Marquis of Hertford, as is before remembered, to govern the affairs of Devonshire, with one regiment of horse, and another of new levied and half-armed foot, had so increased his numbers by the concurrence of the gentlemen of that county, that he fixed strong quarters within less than a mile of the city, and kept his guards even to the gates; when the Earl of Stamford was within, with a strength, at least equal in number to the besiegers.

The Parliament commended the relief of this place, by special instructions, to their Admiral, the Earl of Warwick; after whose having made shew of landing men in several places upon the coast, and thereby compelled Sir John Berkley to make quick and wearisome marches with horse and dragoons from place to place, the wind coming fair, the fleet left those who attended their landing about Totness, turned about, and with a fresh gale made towards the river, that leads to the walls of Exeter; and having the command of both sides of the river, upon a flat, by their cannon, the Earl presumed that way he should be able to send relief into the city: but the diligence and providence of Sir John Berkley had fortunately cast up some slight works upon the advantageous nooks of the river, in which his men might be in some security from the cannon of the ships; and made great haste with his horse to hinder their landing; and so this attempt was not only without success, but so unfortunate, that it discouraged the seamen from endeavouring the like again. For after three or four hours pouring their great shot, from their ships, upon the land

The Earl of  
Warwick  
with his  
fleet at-  
tempts the  
relief of it,



forces, the tide falling, the Earl of Warwick fell off with his fleet, leaving three ships behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other two taken from the land, in view of his whole fleet; which no more looked after the relief of Exeter that way. BOOK  
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but suc-  
ceeds not.

Whilst all the King's forces were employed in the blocking up the town, and attending the coast, to wait upon the Earl of Warwick, the garrison of Plymouth increased very fast, into which the fleet disburdened themselves of all they could spare; and the north parts of Devonshire gathered apace into a head for the Parliament; Barnstable and Bedford being garrisoned by them; which having an uninterrupted line of communication with Plymouth, resolved to join their whole strength, and so to compel the enemy to draw off from the walls of Exeter, which had been very easy to have been done, if they in the city had been as active for their own preservation. Sir John Berkley having notice of this preparation and resolution, sent Colonel John Digby (who had, from their first entrance into Cornwall, commanded the horse) with his own regiment of horse, and some loose troops of dragoons, into the north of Devon, to hinder the joining of the rebels' forces. He chose Torrington for his quarter, and within few days drew to him a troop of new-raised horse, and a regiment of foot, raised by his old friends in Cornwall; so that he had with him above three hundred horse, and six or seven hundred foot. Those of Bedford and Barnstable, being superior in number, and apprehending that the King's successes eastward might increase his strength and power there, and weaken theirs, resolved to try their fortunes; and joining themselves together, to the number of above twelve hundred foot, and three hundred horse, under the command of Colonel Bennet, hoped to surprise Colonel John Digby at Torrington; and he was upon the matter surprised: for albeit he had notice in the night from Barnstable, "that the forces drew out thence to Bedford in the night, and that they intended to fall on his quarters early in the morning;" and thereupon put himself into a pos-

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ture to receive them, and drew up all his forces together out of the town, upon such a piece of ground, as, in that inclosed county, could be most advantageous for his horse, having, through all the little inclosure, cut gaps, through which his horse might enter; yet, after he had attended their coming till noon, and heard no more of them, and his small parties, which were sent out to inquire, returned with assurance, that there was no appearance of an enemy, he believed they had given over their design; and so dismissed his horse to their several quarters, reserving only one hundred and fifty upon their guard, and returned himself into the town with the foot.

But, within less than an hour, he received the alarm, "that the enemy was within half a mile of the town." The confusion was very great, so that he resolved not to draw the foot out of the town; but having placed them in the best manner he could, upon the avenues, himself went to the horse out of the town, resolving to wait upon the rear of the enemy; who were drawn up on the same piece of ground, on which he had expected them all the morning. The Colonel, whose courage, and vivacity upon action, was very eminent, and commonly very fortunate, intended rather to look upon them, than to engage with them, before his other troops came up; but having divided his small party of horse, the whole consisting but of one hundred and fifty, into several parties, and distributed them into several little closes, out of which there were gaps into the larger ground, upon which the enemy stood, a forlorn hope of fifty musketeers advanced towards that ground where himself was; and if they had recovered the hedge, they would easily have driven him thence. And therefore, as the only expedient left, himself, taking four or five officers into the front with him, charged that forlorn hope; which immediately threw down their arms, and run upon their own body, and carried so infectious a fear with them, that without making a stand, or their horse offering once to charge, the whole body routed themselves, and fled; Colonel Digby following the execution with his horse, till

Sir John  
Digby  
routs the  
Parliament's  
forces at  
Torrington.

their swords were blunted with slaughter, and his numbers overburdened with prisoners; though the foot out of the town hastened to the chase, as soon as they saw what terror had possessed their enemies.

In this action (for it cannot be called a battle; hardly a skirmish; where no resistance was made) there were near two hundred killed, and above two hundred taken prisoners; and those that fled contributed more to the victory, than the prisoners, or the slain, for they were scattered and dispersed over all the country, and scarce a man without a cut over the face and head, or some other hurt; that wrought more upon the neighbours towards their conversion, than any sermon could be preached to them. Some of the principal officers, and of their horse, got into Bedford and Barnstable; and not considering the inconvenience of acknowledging, that God was extraordinary propitious to the Cavaliers, told strange stories of “the horror” and fear that seized upon them, and that nobody saw “above six of the enemy, that charged them;” which proved a greater dismay to their friends, than their defeat.

At this time came Prince Maurice to Exeter, the fame of whose arrival brought a new terror, so that the fort at Appledore, which commanded the river to Barnstable and Bedford, being delivered to Colonel Digby, within two or three days after his victory, those two towns shortly after submitted to his Majesty, upon promise of pardon, and such other articles as were of course; which Colonel Digby saw precisely observed, as far as concerned the towns in point of plunder, or violence towards the inhabitants. And this success so wrought upon the spirits and temper of that people, that all the persons of eminent disaffection withdrawing themselves, according to their liberty by the articles; Colonel Digby, within very few days, increased his small party to the number of three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse; with which he was by Prince Maurice ordered to march to Plymouth, and to block up that place from making incursions into the country.

The loss of all their garrisons on the north coast, and



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Exeter delivered to the Prince upon articles, September 4.

despair of succour or relief from any other place, prevailed with the Earl of Stamford, and that committee in Exeter, (to whom the Earl was not superior,) to treat with the Prince; and thereupon articles were agreed to; and that rich and pleasant city was delivered on the fourth of September, which was within fourteen or sixteen days after Prince Maurice came thither, into the King's protection, after it had suffered no other distress, or impression from the besiegers, than the being kept from taking the air without their own walls, and from being supplied from the country markets.

There was an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between Prince Maurice and the Marquis. It hath been said, that the Earl of Carnarvon, who was General of the horse of the western army, had marched from Bristol the day before the Prince, and had taken Dorchester and Weymouth, before his Highness came up to the army, both considerable places, and the seats of great malignity. The former was not thought necessary to be made a garrison; but the latter was the best port town of that country, and to be kept with great care. The Marquis had made some promise of the government thereof, when it should be taken, (of which they made no doubt,) to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, a young gentleman of that country, of a fair and plentiful fortune, and one, who, in the opinion of most men, was like to advance the place by being Governor of it, and to raise men for the defence of it, without lessening the army; and had, in expectation of it, made some provision of officers and soldiers, when it should be time to call them together. Prince Maurice, on the other side, had some other person in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge, when it should fall. In the moment that the town was taken, and before the Prince came thither, Sir Anthony, hearing that the Marquis came not with the army, but remained some time at Bristol, made all the haste he could to him, and came thither the same day the King left it; and applied himself

to the Marquis, who remembered his promise, and thought himself obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power so to do, since it appeared, that the town was taken before the King had declared to him, that he should not go to the army; till when he ought to be looked upon as General of it. He conferred with the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in which his honour was concerned, and on which his heart was set. Sir Anthony came likewise to him, who was of his acquaintance, and desired his assistance, "that, after so much charge he had been put to, in the expectation of it, and to prepare for it, he might not be exposed to the mirth and contempt of the country." It was evident, that if he returned with the commission from the Marquis, (which he was most inclined to give him,) both he and the commission would be affronted, and the town would not be suffered to submit to him. Therefore the Chancellor was of opinion, that there was no way but to appeal to the King, and desire his favour, as well as his justice, in giving his commission to the person designed by the Marquis; which would remove that part of the exception, which would most trouble the Prince; and he offered to write himself very earnestly to the King. Besides his desire to gratify the Marquis, he did in truth believe it of great importance to his Majesty's service, to engage a person of such a fortune and interest, so thoroughly in his quarrel, as he then believed such an obligation must needs do; the flexibility and instability of that gentleman's nature not being then understood, or suspected.

He did write, with all the skill and importunity he could use, to the King; and writ to the Lord Falkland, "to take Sir John Colepepper with him, if he found any aversion in the King, that they might together discourse, and prevail with him." But his Majesty positively and obstinately refused to grant it; and said, "he would not, to please the Marquis in an unjust pretence, put a public disobligation and affront upon his nephew." So the express returned without effect, and the Marquis was as

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sensibly touched as could be imagined; and said, "that he was fallen from all credit with the King, and was made incapable of doing him farther service; that his fidelity should never be lessened towards him," (as in truth he was incapable of a disloyal thought,) "but since he was become so totally useless to the King, and to his friends, he hoped his Majesty would give him leave to retire to his own house; where, he doubted not, he should be suffered to live privately and quietly, to pray for the King." The Chancellor knew well the nature of the Marquis, that would never give him leave to pursue any resolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his Majesty, for whom he had all possible duty; yet he knew too, that the mischief was not small, from the observation that the Marquis thought himself ill used, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment those jealousies and discontents; and therefore resolved (having dispatched all things which were incumbent on him at Bristol, and used all freedom with the Marquis, for the dispelling all troublesome imaginations) to go himself to the King, and to represent that affair to him, and the probable consequences of it, with new instances. And at last, with very great difficulty, he did so far prevail with his Majesty, that he gave a commission to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, to be Governor of Weymouth; which he was the more easily persuaded to, out of some prejudice he had to the person, who, he understood, was designed to that government. However, the Marquis received it as a seasonable act of favour to himself, and, in a short time after, came from Bristol to Oxford, to attend upon his Majesty according to his command.

The prosecution of the siege of Gloucester.

At Gloucester the business proceeded very slowly: for though the army increased wonderfully there, by the access of forces from all quarters, yet the King had neither money nor materials requisite for a siege, and they in the town behaved themselves with great courage and resolution, and made many sharp and bold sallies upon the King's



forces, and did more hurt commonly than they received; and many officers of name, besides common soldiers, were slain in the trenches and approaches; the Governor leaving nothing unperformed that became a vigilant commander. Sometimes, upon the sallies, the horse got between the town and them, so that many prisoners were taken, who were always drunk; and, after they were recovered, they confessed, "that the Governor always gave the party "that made the sally, as much wine and strong water as "they desired to drink:" so that it seems their mettle was not purely natural; yet it is very observable, that, in all the time the King lay there with a very glorious army, and after the taking of a city of much greater name, there was no one officer run from the town to him, nor above three common soldiers, which is a great argument, the discipline within was very good. Besides the loss of men before the town, both from the walls, and by sickness, (which was not greater than was to be reasonably expected,) a very great licence broke into the army, both among officers and soldiers; the malignity of those parts being thought excuse for the exercise of any rapine, or severity among the inhabitants. Insomuch as it is hardly to be credited, how many thousand sheep were in a few days destroyed, besides what were brought in by the commissaries for a regular provision; and many countrymen imprisoned by officers without warrant, or the least knowledge of the King's, till they had paid good sums of money, for their delinquency; all which brought great clamour upon the discipline of the army, and justice of the officers, and made them likewise less prepared for the service they were to expect.

In the mean time nothing was left at London unattempted, that might advance the preparation for the relief of Gloucester. All overtures of peace were suppressed, and the city purely at the devotion of those who were most violent, who put one compliment upon them at this time, that is not to be passed over. It is remembered before, that, at the beginning of these distractions, before the King's going into the North, his Majesty had, upon the

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reiterated importunity of the two Houses, made Sir John Coniers Lieutenant of the Tower of London; who was a soldier of very good estimation, and had been the Lieutenant General of his horse in that last preparation against the Scots, and Governor of Berwick. The Parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own creature, and desired to have engaged him in some active command in their armies, having the reputation of one of the best officers of horse of that time. But he warily declined that engagement, and contained himself within the limits of that place, which, by the multitude of prisoners, sent to the Tower by the two Houses, and the excessive fees they paid, yielded him a vast profit; in the administration whereof he was so impartial, that those prisoners who suffered most for his Majesty, found no more favour or indulgence from him than the rest. About this time, either discerning that they grew to confide less in him than they had done, and that he must engage himself in their service, or should shortly lose the benefit of their good opinion, or really abhorring to be so near those actions he saw every day committed, and to lie under the scandal of keeping his Majesty's only fort which he could not apply to his service, he desired leave from the Houses, "to go into Holland," where his education had been, and his fortune was, without obliging himself to a time of return. The proposition was not unwelcome to the Houses; and thereupon they immediately committed that charge, the custody of the Tower of London, to the Lord Mayor Pennington; that the city might see they were trusted to hold their own reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them which had always justled with their own. This compliment served to a double purpose; for thereby, as they made the city believe they had put themselves under their protection, so they were sure they had put the city under the power, or under the apprehension of the power of him, who would never forsake them out of an appetite to peace.

The custody of the Tower committed by the two Houses to the Lord Mayor Pennington.

The Earl of Essex now declared, that he would himself

undertake the relief of Gloucester, whereas before Sir William Waller was designed to it, and, whencesoever it proceeded, was returned to his old full alacrity against the King, and recovered those officers and soldiers again to him, who had absented by his connivance, or upon an opinion that he would march no more; yet his numbers increased not so fast as the occasion required: for Colonel Massy found means to send many messengers out of the town, to advertise the straits he was in, and the time that he should be able to hold out. Their ordinance of pressing, though executed with unusual rigour, insomuch as persons of good fortunes, who had retired to London, that they might be less taken notice of, were seized on, and detained in custody, till they paid so much money, or procured an able man to go in their places, brought not in such a supply as they expected; and such as were brought in, and delivered to the officers, declared such an averseness to the work to which they were designed, and such a peremptory resolution not to fight, that they only increased their numbers, not their strength, and run away upon the first opportunity. In the end, they had no other resort for men, but to those who had so constantly supplied them with money, and prevailed with their true friends, the city, which they still alarmed with the King's irreconcilableness to them, to send three or four of their trained-band regiments, or auxiliaries, to fight with the enemy at that distance, rather than to expect him at their own walls, where they must be assured to see him as soon as Gloucester should be reduced; and then they would be as much perplexed with the malignants within, as with the enemy without their city.

Upon such arguments, and the power of the Earl of Essex, so many regiments of horse and foot as he desired were assigned to march with him; and so, towards the end of August, he marched out of London; and having appointed a rendezvous near Aylesbury, where he was met by the Lord Grey, and other forces of the associated counties, from thence he marched by easy journeys towards

The Earl  
of Essex  
marches  
out of Lon-  
don to re-  
lieve Glou-  
cester.



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Gloucester, with an army of above eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse. It would not at first be credited at the leaguer, that the Earl of Essex could be in a condition to attempt such a work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the intelligence, and suspected rather that he would give some alarm to Oxford, where the Queen was, and thereby hope to draw the army from Gloucester, than that in truth he would venture upon so tedious a march, where he must pass over a campaign near thirty miles in length, where half the King's body of horse would distress, if not destroy his whole army, and through a country eaten bare, where he could find neither provision for man nor horse; and if he should, without interruption, be suffered to go into Gloucester, he could neither stay there, nor possibly retire to London, without being destroyed in the rear by the King's army, which should nevertheless not engage itself in the hazard of a battle. Upon these conclusions they proceeded in their works before Gloucester, their galleries being near finished, and visibly a great want of ammunition in the town; yet the Lord Wilmot was appointed, with a good party of horse, to wait about Banbury, and to retire before the enemy, if he should advance towards Gloucester, and to give such impediments to their march, as in such a country might be easy to do; Prince Rupert himself staying with the body of horse, upon the hills above Gloucester, to join, if the Earl of Essex should be so hardy as to venture.

The Earl came to Brackley, and having there taken in from Leicester and Bedford the last recruits upon which he depended, he marched steadily over all that campaign, which they thought he feared, towards Gloucester; and though the King's horse were often within view, and entertained him with light skirmishes, he pursued his direct way; the King's horse still retiring before him, till the foot was compelled to raise the siege, in more disorder and distraction than might have been expected; and so with less loss, and easier skirmishes, than can be imagined, the Earl, with his army and train, marched to Gloucester;

The siege of  
Gloucester  
raised.

where he found them reduced to one single barrel of powder; and all other provisions answerable. And it must be confessed, that governor gave a stop to the career of the King's good success, and from his pertinacious defence of that place, the Parliament had time to recover their broken forces, and more broken spirits; and may acknowledge to this rise the greatness to which they afterwards aspired.

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The Earl of Essex stayed in that joyful town (where he was received with all possible demonstrations of honour) three days; and in that time, which was as wonderful as any part of the story, caused all necessary provisions to be brought in to them, out of those very quarters in which the King's army had been sustained, and which they conceived to be entirely spent: so solicitous were the people to conceal what they had, and to reserve it for them; which, without a connivance from the King's commissaries, could not have been done. All this time the King lay at Sudley Castle, the house of the Lord Chandois, within eight miles of Gloucester, watching when that army would return; which, they conceived, stayed rather out of despair than election, in those eaten quarters; and, to open them a way for their retreat, his Majesty removed to Esham, hoping the Earl would choose to go back the same way he came; which, for many reasons, was to be desired; and thereupon the Earl marched to Tewkesbury, as if he had no other purpose. The King's horse, though bold, and vigorous upon action and execution, were always less patient of duty and ill accommodation than they should be; and at this time, partly with weariness, and partly with the indisposition that possessed the whole army upon this relief of the town, were less vigilant towards the motion of the enemy: so that the Earl of Essex was marched with his whole army and train from Tewkesbury, four and twenty hours before the King heard which way he was gone: for he took the advantage of a dark night, and having sure guides, reached Cirencester before the breaking of the day; where he found two regiments of the

The Earl of Essex in his return seizes upon Cirences-ter.

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King's horse quartered securely ; all which, by the negligence of the officers, (a common and fatal crime throughout the war, on the King's part,) he surprised, to the number of above three hundred ; and, which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of provisions, prepared, by the King's commissaries, for the army before Gloucester, and which they neglected to remove after the siege was raised, and so most sottishly left it for the relief of the enemy, far more apprehensive of hunger than of the sword ; and indeed this wonderful supply strangely exalted their spirits, as sent by the special care and extraordinary hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

From hence the Earl, having no farther apprehension of the King's horse, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open campaign, and being at the least twenty miles before him, by easy marches, that his sick and wearied soldiers might overtake him, moved, through that deep and inclosed county of North Wiltshire, his direct way to London. As soon as the King had sure notice which way the enemy was gone, he endeavoured, by expedition and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the supine negligence of those he trusted had robbed him of ; and himself, with matchless industry, taking care to lead up the foot, Prince Rupert, with near five thousand horse, marched day and night over the hills, to get between London and the enemy before they should be able to get out of those inclosed deep countries, in which they were engaged between narrow lanes, and to entertain them with skirmishes till the whole army should come up. This design, pursued and executed with indefatigable pains, succeeded to his wish ; for when the van of the enemy's army had almost marched over Awborne Chase, intending that night to have reached Newbury, Prince Rupert, beyond their fear or expectation, appeared with a strong body of horse, so near them, that before they could put themselves in order to receive him, he charged their rear, and routed them with good execution ; and though the enemy per-



formed the parts of good men, and applied themselves more dexterously to the relief of each other, than on so sudden and unlooked for an occasion was expected, yet with some difficulty, and the loss of many men, they were glad to shorten their journey, and the night coming on, took up their quarters at Hungerford.

In this conflict, which was very sharp for an hour or two, many fell of the enemy, and of the King's party none of name, but the Marquis of Vieu Ville, a gallant gentleman of the French nation, who had attended the Queen out of Holland, and put himself as a volunteer upon this action, into the Lord Jermyn's regiment. There were hurt many officers, and among those the Lord Jermyn received a shot in his arm with a pistol; owing the preservation of his life from other shots to the excellent temper of his armour; and the Lord Digby a strange hurt in the face, a pistol being discharged at so near a distance upon him, that the powder fetched much blood from his face, and for the present blinded him, without farther mischief; by which it was concluded, that the bullet had dropped out before the pistol was discharged: and may be reckoned among one of those escapes, of which that gallant person hath passed a greater number, in the course of his life, than any man I know.

By this expedition of Prince Rupert, the enemy was forced to such delay, that the King came up with his foot and train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the licence which many officers and soldiers took whilst the King lay at Esham, were much lessened, being above two thousand fewer, than when he raised his siege from Gloucester. And when the Earl, the next day, advanced from Hungerford, hoping to recover Newbury, which Prince Rupert with his horse would not be able to hinder him from; when he came within two miles of the town, he found the King possessed of it; for his Majesty, with his whole army, was come thither two hours before: this put him to a necessity of staying upon

BOOK VII. the field that night; it being now the seventeenth day of September.

It was now thought by many, that the King had recovered whatsoever had been lost by former oversights, omissions, or neglects, and that by the destroying the army which had relieved Gloucester, he should be fully recompensed for being disappointed of that purchase. He seemed to be possessed of all advantages to be desired, a good town to refresh his men in, whilst the enemy lodged in the field, his own quarters to friend, and his garrison of Wallingford at hand, and Oxford itself within distance for supply of whatsoever should be wanting; when the enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the Prince had attacked them, the day before, had stood in their arms, in a country where they could not find victual. So that it was conceived, that it was in the King's power, whether he would fight or no, and therefore that he might compel them to notable disadvantages, who must make their way through, or starve; and this was so fully understood, that it was resolved over night, not to engage in battle, but upon such grounds as should give an assurance of victory. But, contrary to this resolution, when the Earl of Essex had, with excellent conduct, drawn out his army in battalia, upon a hill called Bigg's Hill, within less than a mile of the town, and ordered his men in all places to the best advantage, by the precipitate courage of some young officers, who had good commands, and who unhappily always undervalued the courage of the enemy, strong parties became successively so far engaged, that the King was compelled to put the whole to the hazard of a battle, and to give the enemy at least an equal game to play.

The battle  
of New-  
bury.

It was disputed, on all parts, with great fierceness and courage; the enemy preserving good order, and standing rather to keep the ground they were upon, than to get more; by which they did not expose themselves to those disadvantages, which any motion would have offered to the

assailants. The King's horse, with a kind of contempt of the enemy, charged with wonderful boldness, upon all grounds of inequality; and were so far too hard for the troops of the other side, that they routed them in most places, till they had left the greatest part of their foot without any guard at all of horse. But then the foot behaved themselves admirably on the enemy's part, and gave their scattered horse time to rally, and were ready to assist and secure them upon all occasions. The London Trained Bands, and auxiliary regiments, (of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service, beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation,) behaved themselves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of that army that day. For they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest; and when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that, though Prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about: of so sovereign benefit and use is that readiness, order, and dexterity in the use of their arms, which hath been so much neglected.

It was fought all that day without any such notable turn, as that either party could think they had much the better. For though the King's horse made the enemy's often give ground, yet the foot were so immovable, that little was gotten by the other; and the first entrance into the battle was so sudden, and without order, that, during the whole day, no use was made of the King's cannon, though that of the enemy was placed so unhappily, that it did very great execution upon the King's party, both horse and foot. The night parted them, when nothing else could; and each party had then time to revolve the oversights of the day. The enemy had fared at least as well as they hoped for; and therefore, in the morning early, they put themselves in order of marching, having an obligation in necessity to gain some place, in which they might eat



**BOOK** and sleep. On the King's side there was not that caution  
**VII.** which should have been the day before; and though the

number of the slain was not so great, as, in so hot a day, might have been looked for, yet very many officers and gentlemen were hurt: so that they rather chose to take advantage of the enemy's motion, than to charge them again upon the old ground, from whence they had been, by order, called off the night before, when they had recovered a post, the keeping of which would much have prejudiced the adversary. The Earl of Essex finding his way open, pursued his main design of returning to London, and took that way by Newbury, which led towards Reading; which Prince Rupert observing, suffered him, without interruption or disturbance, to pass, till his whole army was entered into the narrow lanes; and then with a strong party of horse, and one thousand musketeers, followed his rear with so good effect, that he put them into great disorder, and killed many, and took many prisoners.

The Earl of Essex gets into Reading; thence to London.

However the Earl, with the gross of his army, and all his cannon, got safe into Reading; and, after a night or two spent there to refresh and rest his men, he moved in a slow and orderly march to London, leaving Reading to the King's forces; which was presently possessed by Sir Jacob Ashley, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse, and made again a garrison for the King: his Majesty and Prince Rupert, with the remainder of the army, retiring to Oxford, and leaving a garrison under the command of Colonel Boys in Donnington Castle (a house of John Packer's, but more famous for having been the seat of Geoffery Chaucer, within a mile of Newbury) to command the great road, through which the western trade was driven to London.

At this time Sir William Waller was at Windsor, with above two thousand horse, and as many foot, as unconcerned for what might befall the Earl of Essex, as the Earl had formerly been on his behalf at Roundway Hill: otherwise, if he had advanced upon the King to Newbury (which was not above twenty miles) when the Earl was on

the other side, the King had been in great danger of an utter defeat; and the apprehension of this was the reason, or was afterwards pretended to be, for the hasty engagement in battle.

The Earl of Essex was received at London with all imaginable demonstrations of affection and reverence; public and solemn thanksgiving was appointed for his victory, for such they made no scruple to declare it. Without doubt, the action was performed by him with incomparable conduct and courage; in every part whereof very much was to be imputed to his own personal virtue; and it may be well reckoned among the most soldierly actions of this unhappy war. For he did the business he undertook, and, after the relief of Gloucester, his next care was to retire with his army to London; which, considering the length of the way, and the difficulties he was to contend with, he did with less loss than could be expected; on the other hand, the King was not without signs of a victory. He had followed, and compelled the enemy to fight, by overtaking him, when he desired to avoid it. He had the spoil of the field, and pursued the enemy the next day after the battle, and had a good execution upon them, without receiving any loss; and, which seemed to crown the work, fixed a garrison again at Reading, and thereby straitened their quarters as much as they were in the beginning of the year; his own being enlarged by the almost entire conquest of the West, and his army much stronger, in horse and foot, than when he first took the field. On which side soever the marks and public ensigns of victory appeared most conspicuous, certain it is, that, according to the unequal fate that attended all skirmishes and conflicts with such an adversary, the loss on the King's side was in weight much more considerable and penetrating; for whilst some obscure, unheard of colonel or officer was missing on the enemy's side, and some citizen's wife bewailed the loss of her husband, there were, on the other, above twenty officers of the field, and persons of honour, and public name, slain upon the place, and more of the same quality hurt.

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The Earl of  
Sunder-  
land slain  
in this  
battle:

Here fell the Earl of Sunderland, a lord of great fortune, tender years, (being not above three and twenty years of age,) and an early judgment; who, having no command in the army, attended upon the King's person, under the obligation of honour; and putting himself that day in the King's troop a volunteer, before they came to charge, was taken away by a cannon bullet.

and the  
Earl of Car-  
narvon; his  
character.

This day also fell the Earl of Carnarvon, who, after he had charged, and routed a body of the enemy's horse, coming carelessly back by some of the scattered troopers, was, by one of them who knew him, run through the body with a sword; of which he died within an hour. He was a person, with whose great parts and virtue the world was not enough acquainted. Before the war, though his education was adorned by travel, and an exact observation of the manners of more nations, than our common travellers use to visit, (for he had, after the view of Spain, France, and most parts of Italy, spent some time in Turkey, and those eastern countries,) he seemed to be wholly delighted with those looser exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the troubles begun, having the command of the first or second regiment of horse, that was raised for the King's service, he wholly gave himself up to the office and duty of a soldier; no man more diligently obeying, or more dexterously commanding; for he was not only of a very keen courage in the exposing his person, but an excellent discerner and pursuer of advantage upon his enemy. He had a mind and understanding very present in the article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those infirmities, and that licence, which he had formerly indulged to himself, he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a soldier. He was a great lover of justice, and practised it then most deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and so strict in the observation of his word and promise as a commander, that he could not be persuaded to stay in the West, when he found it not in his power to perform



the agreement he had made with Dorchester and Weymouth. If he had lived, he would have proved a great ornament to that profession, and an excellent soldier, and by his death the King found a sensible weakness in his army.

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But I must here take leave a little longer to discontinue this narration : and if the celebrating the memory of eminent and extraordinary persons, and transmitting their great virtues, for the imitation of posterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of history, it will not be thought impertinent, in this place, to remember a loss which no time will suffer to be forgotten, and no success or good fortune could repair. In this unhappy battle was slain the Lord Viscount Falkland ; a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war, than that single loss, it must be most infamous, and execrable to all posterity.

And the  
Lord Vis-  
count Falk-  
land ; his  
character.

*Turpe mori, post te, solo non posse dolore.*

Before this Parliament, his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of age, he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the descent. His education for some years had been in Ireland, where his father was Lord Deputy ; so that, when he returned into England, to the possession of his fortune, he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends, which usually grow up by the custom of conversation ; and therefore was to make a pure election of his company ; which he chose by other rules than were prescribed to the young nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to

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his friendship for the agreeableness of their natures, and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship, for the most part, was with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity; and such men had a title to his bosom.

He was a great cherisher of wit, and fancy, and good parts in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune; of which, in those administrations, he was such a dispenser, as, if he had been trusted with it to such uses, and if there had been the least of vice in his expence, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore having once resolved not to see London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry, that it will not be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

In this time, his house being within little more than ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that University; who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgment in him, so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air; so that his house was a university in a less volume; whither they came not so much for repose as study; and to examine and refine those grosser propositions, which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.

Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his mother (who was a lady of another persuasion in

religion, and of a most masculine understanding, allayed with the passion and infirmities of her own sex) to pervert him in his piety to the Church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome; which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that religion, whether priests or laics; having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and having a memory so stupendous, that he remembered, on all occasions, whatsoever he read. And he was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of religion, that in all those disputations with priests, and others of the Roman Church, he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons, and estimation of their parts; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when, by sinister arts, they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, and stolen them from his house, and transported them beyond seas, and perverted his sisters: upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that religion, with that sharpness of style, and full weight of reason, that the Church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not published to the world.

He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men; and that made him too much a contemner of those arts, which must be indulged in the transactions of human affairs. In the last short Parliament, he was a burgess in the House of Commons; and, from the debates which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce



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mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom; or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that convention, he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined; his father having wasted a full fortune there, in those offices and employments by which other men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this Parliament to serve in the same place, and, in the beginning of it, declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitances, which had been most grievous to the state; for he was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules, that he could not endure the least breach or deviation from them; and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of ministers of state to break positive rules, for reasons of state; or judges to transgress known laws, upon the title of conveniency, or necessity; which made him so severe against the Earl of Strafford and the Lord Finch, contrary to his natural gentleness and temper: insomuch as they who did not know his composition to be as free from revenge, as it was from pride, thought that the sharpness to the former might proceed from the memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of injustice, from him towards his father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and in both cases was only misled by the authority of those, who, he believed, understood the laws perfectly; of which himself was utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was then scarce controverted, had been true, "that an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom was treason," a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their several charges.

The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. Hambden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly in conclusions, he believed

long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was law, and discerned in them a desire to control that law by a vote of one or both Houses, no man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble by reason and argumentation; insomuch as he was, by degrees, looked upon as an advocate for the Court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses, and even those invitations which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the Court, and to the courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the King's or Queen's favour towards him, but the deserving it. For when the King sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those councils, which his Majesty graciously termed "doing him service," his answers were more negligent, and less satisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only that his actions should be just, not that they should be acceptable, and that his Majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of conscience, without any sympathy in his affections; which, from a stoical and sullen nature, might not have been misinterpreted; yet, from a person of so perfect a habit of generous and obsequious compliance with all good men, might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averness to his service: so that he took more pains, and more forced his nature to actions unagreeable, and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than most men have done to procure an office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a testimony of the King's grace and trust at that time, he had not been called to his council; not that he was in truth averse from receiving public employment; for he had a great devotion to the King's person, and had before used some small endeavour to be recommended to him for a foreign negotiation, and had once a

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desire to be sent ambassador into France; but he abhorred an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any man, that, in the discharge of his trust and duty in Parliament, he had any bias to the Court, or that the King himself should apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honest.

For this reason, when he heard it first whispered, "that the King had a purpose to make him a Privy Counsellor," for which there was, in the beginning, no other ground, but because he was known sufficient, (*haud semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit,*) he resolved to decline it; and at last suffered himself only to be overruled, by the advice and persuasions of his friends, to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was positive to refuse it; declaring to his friends, "that he was most unfit for it, and that he must either do that which would be great disquiet to his own nature, or leave that undone which was most necessary to be done by one that was honoured with that place; for the most just and honest men did, every day, that which he could not give himself leave to do." And indeed he was so exact and strict an observer of justice and truth, that he believed those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other men, and those arts and insinuations which are necessary for discoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in him a declension from his own rules of life: though he acknowledged them fit, and absolutely necessary to be practised in those employments. He was, in truth, so precise in the practice principles he prescribed himself, (to all others he was as indulgent,) as if he had lived in *Repubblica Platonis, non in fæce Romuli*.

Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them. The first, the consideration that his refusal might bring some blemish upon the King's affairs, and that men would have believed, that he had refused so great an honour and trust, because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else



not justifiable. And this he made matter of conscience, since he knew the King made choice of him, before other men, especially because he thought him more honest than other men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing Sir Harry Vane, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients: and he so much the more consented to and approved the justice upon Sir Harry Vane, in his own private judgment, by how much he surpassed most men in the religious observation of a trust, the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

For these reasons, he submitted to the King's command, and became his Secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation, as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to, whilst he continued in that office, that was to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of spies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them. I do not mean such emissaries, as with danger would venture to view the enemy's camp, and bring intelligence of their number, or quartering, or any particulars that such an observation can comprehend; but those, who by communication of guilt, or dissimulation of manners, wind themselves into such trusts and secrets, as enable them to make discoveries. The other, the liberty of opening letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, "such instruments must be void of all ingenuity, and common honesty, before they could be of use; and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no single preservation could be worth so general a

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“wound, and corruption of human society, as the cherishing such persons would carry with it.” The last, he thought “such a violation of the law of nature, that no qualification by office could justify him in the trespass;” and though he was convinced by the necessity, and iniquity of the time, that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessarily to be practised, he found means to put it off from himself; whilst he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission; so unwilling he was to resign any part of good nature to an obligation in his office.

In all other particulars he filled his place with great sufficiency, being well versed in languages, to understand any that are used in business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his integrity, and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit*. Some sharp expressions he used against the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his concurring in the first bill to take away the votes of Bishops in the House of Peers, gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, and publish, “that he was no friend to the Church, and the established government of it;” and troubled his very friends much, who were more confident of the contrary, than prepared to answer the allegations.

The truth is, he had unhappily contracted some prejudice to the Archbishop; and having observed his passion, when, it may be, multiplicity of business, or rather indisposition, had possessed him, did wish him less entangled and engaged in the business of the Court, or State: though, I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great learning, and confessed integrity; and really thought his own letting himself loose to those expressions, which implied a disesteem of the Archbishop, or at least an acknowledgment of his infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction; which he abominated with his soul.

The giving his consent to the first bill for the displacing the Bishops, did proceed from two grounds: the first, his not understanding then the original of their right and suffrage there: the other, an opinion, that the combination against the whole government of the Church by Bishops, was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in secular affairs, would not preserve the order. And he was persuaded to this by the profession of many persons of honour, who declared, "they did desire the one, and would not then press "the other;" which, in that particular, misled many men. But when his observation and experience made him discern more of their intentions, than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second bill that was preferred for that purpose; and had, without scruple, the order itself in perfect reverence; and thought too great encouragement could not possibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men. He was never in the least degree swayed or moved by the objections which were made against that government in the Church, (holding them most ridiculous,) or affected to the other, which those men fancied to themselves.

He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear, that he seemed not without some appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occasion of action, he always engaged his person in those troops, which he thought, by the forwardness of the commanders, to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such encounters he had about him an extraordinary cheerfulness, without at all affecting the execution that usually attended them, in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by resistance, made necessary: insomuch that at Edge-hill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms, and against whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: so that a man might think, he came into the field chiefly out of curiosity to see the face of dan-



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ger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier; and shortly after he came to his fortune, before he was of age, he went into the Low Countries, with a resolution of procuring command, and to give himself up to it, from which he was diverted by the complete inactivity of that summer: so he returned into England, and shortly after entered upon that vehement course of study we mentioned before, till the first alarm from the North; then again he made ready for the field, and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse, of which he had a promise, he went a volunteer with the Earl of Essex.

From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to; yet being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side, that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor, (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages, that might then have been laid hold of,) he resisted those indispositions, *et in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat*. But after the King's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two Houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so exactly easy and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness, and less pleasantness of the visage, a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable; and thence, very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness, and industry, and expence, than is usual to so great a soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his

reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some men, (strangers to his nature and disposition,) who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free. BOOK  
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It is true, that as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even submission to good, and worthy, and entire men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his place, which objected him to another conversation and intermixture, than his own election would have done) *adversus malos injucundus*; and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men, that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once, in the House of Commons, such a declared acceptance of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, “that the Speaker might, in the name of the whole House, give him thanks; and then, that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him;” the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the Lord Falkland, (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompence,) instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all men might see, how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular.

When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*; and would passionately profess, “that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the king-

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“dom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and “would shortly break his heart.” This made some think, or pretend to think, “that he was so much enamoured on “peace, that he would have been glad the King should “have bought it at any price;” which was a most unreasonable calumny. As if a man, that was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour, could have wished the King to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit; for at the leaguer before Gloucester, when his friend passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger, (for he delighted to visit the trenches, and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did,) as being so much beside the duty of his place, that it might be understood rather to be against it, he would say merrily, “that his office could not take away “the privilege of his age; and that a secretary in war “might be present at the greatest secret of danger;” but withal alleged seriously, “that it concerned him to be “more active in enterprises of hazard, than other men; “that all might see, that his impatiency for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his “own person.”

In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the Lord Byron’s regiment, then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers; from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was some hope he might have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having so much dispatched the true business of life, that the eldest rarely attain to that immense



knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency : whosoever leads such a life, needs be the less anxious upon how short warning it is taken from him.

Now to go on with the course of our history : the Earl of Essex entered into London on the 25th of September, (a day we shall have occasion to remember upon another solemnity,) and was the next day visited, at Essex House, by the Speaker and the whole House of Commons, who declared to him, “ that they came to congratulate his notable success, and to render the thanks of the kingdom to him, for his incomparable conduct and courage ; “ and that they had caused their acknowledgment to be “ entered in their Journal Book, as a monument and record of his virtue, and their gratitude.” A day or two after, solemn thanks were rendered to those members of both Houses, who had command in the army, and some extraordinary signification of respect derived to the superior officers throughout the army. A gaudy letter of kindness and value was sent to Colonel Massy, and, which made the letter of more value, a thousand pounds was sent him as a gratuity or present for his service, over and above what was due to him for his pay, and some largess to all the inferior officers, and a month’s pay, over and above their arrears, to the soldiers of that garrison.

The Earl of  
Essex re-  
turns to  
London.

Lest the discourse and apprehension of the jealousy between the Earl of Essex and Sir William Waller, might administer hope or suspicion, that some division might grow amongst themselves, and, from thence, that the King might receive any advantage, great care was taken to make, and greater to publish, a reconciliation between them ; in which Sir William was all submission and humility, and his Excellence full of grace and courtesy. The passion and animosity, which difference of opinion had produced between any members, was totally laid aside and forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world believe, that they were a people newly incorporated, and as firmly united to one and the same end, as their brethren

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the Scots; of whose concurrence and assistance they were now assured, and satisfied that it would come soon enough for their preservation; of which they had not before a full confidence.

Though the King's army had all the trophies of victory in and after this battle, as is before related, (it kept the field, and had the spoil of it; it took some pieces of the enemy's cannon, who marched off in the night, and were pursued with some considerable loss beyond Reading, where a garrison was again placed for his Majesty, under the command of Sir Jacob Ashley, Major General of the army, an excellent officer; so that the Parliament was in so much a worse state than they were in the spring, as the loss of Bristol and most of the West amounted to; for by this time Exeter was likewise reduced by Prince Maurice,) yet, notwithstanding all this, the Earl of Essex, as is said before, was received at London with all imaginable gratulation and triumph; he had done all that was expected from him, with many circumstances of great, soldierly, and notable courage, and the heart and spirit of the Parliament was visibly much exalted, and their impatience for peace quite abated.

The temper  
of the ar-  
my and the  
Court at  
Oxford,  
upon the  
return of  
the King  
thither.

On the contrary, upon the King's return to Oxford, there appeared nothing but dejection of mind, discontent, and secret mutiny in the army, anger and jealousy among the officers, every one accusing another of want of courage and conduct in the actions of the field; and they who were not of the army, blaming them all for their several failings and gross oversights. The siege of Gloucester was not believed to have been well conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it, if it had been skilfully gone about. The not engaging the Earl of Essex in all the march over so open a country, was thought unexcusable, and was imputed to the want of courage in Wilmot, whom Prince Rupert did in no degree favour: nor was the Prince himself without some reproaches, for suffering the Earl of Essex, after all the horse was joined, to march down a long steep hill into the

vale of Gloucester, without any disturbance; and that the whole army, when it was found necessary to quit the siege, had not been brought to fight in that vale, and at some distance from the town, when the King's men were fresh, and the other side tired with so long a march.

But then all men renewed their execrations against those, who advised the sitting down before Gloucester; the officers, who had been present, and consenting to all the counsels, disclaiming, as much as any, the whole design; and all conspired to lay the whole reproach upon the Master of the Rolls, who spoke most in those debates, and was not at all gracious to the soldiers; and this clamour against that engagement was so popular and universal, that no man took upon himself to speak in defence of it; though, besides the reasons which have been formerly alleged for it, what happened in this last action, in the relief of Gloucester, might well seem to justify it; for since it appeared, that the city was so much united to the Parliament, that it supplied their army with such a body of their Trained Bands, (without which it could never have marched,) with what success could his Majesty have approached London, after the taking of Bristol, with his harassed army? and would not the whole body of the Trained Bands have defended that, when so considerable a part of them could be persuaded to undertake a march of two hundred miles? for less they did not march, from the time they went out, to that in which they returned. But no reason could ever convert those, who looked upon that undertaking at Gloucester, as the ruin of the King's affairs.

The temper of the Court was no better than that of the army: and the King was so much troubled with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet his condition required. They who had forborne to be importunate for honours, or offices, because they knew they should not be able to obtain their desires from the King, made their modesty an argument of their merit to the Queen; and assured her, "that they had forborne to ask any thing in her absence,



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“because they had always resolved never to receive any thing, but by her bounty.” Many pretended former promises and engagements for creations of honour, as soon as any thing should be done of that kind. And it is true enough, that both their Majesties had given themselves ease from present importunities, by making promises, with reference to a time, which they imagined, and, at that time, resolved, should not be soon: and now there was no sooner mention of conferring honour upon one or two whom they had a mind to gratify, but the rest, who had that promise, were very importunate and clamorous for the same justice. By this means they were, upon the matter, compelled to gratify some men to whom they bore no good-will; and so, they who received the favours were no more pleased, than they were who conferred them; and they who were without ambition before, when they saw honours and offices conferred upon men, who, they thought, did not merit them better than themselves, thought their service undervalued if they did not receive the same reward. And it was a usual prologue to suits of that kind, “that they did not desire it out of their own ambition, “but purely to satisfy their friends; who withdrew their “kindness from them, out of an opinion that they had offended the King, who would not otherwise put so great “a difference between them and other men.” Whence it may be observed, that princes should not confer public rewards in a season when they can only gratify a few, and so many stand upon the same level in pretences, that they are apt to resent the preferring of one, as an affront and disobligation to the rest.

There was no particular that gave the King more unquietness, than the pretence of my Lord of Holland. The three Earls I before mentioned, had attended the King before he rose from Gloucester, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had charged the enemy, in the King's regiment of horse, at the battle of Newbury, very bravely; and had behaved themselves, throughout, very well; and returned to Oxford with his Majesty; and now

expected to be well looked upon: and the other two had no cause to complain; the King, upon all occasions, spoke very graciously to them, and particularly sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Earl of Clare, "that he had liberty, and might be present at the councils of war;" where the Peers usually were, and where the general matters of contribution, and such things as concerned the country, were usually debated. But the Earl of Holland was not pleased; he thought nothing of former miscarriages ought to be remembered; that all those were cancelled by the merit of coming to the King now, and bringing such considerable persons with him, and disposing others to follow; and expected, upon his first appearance, to have had his key restored to him; to have been in the same condition he was in the Bedchamber, and in the Council, and in the King's grace and countenance; of all which he had assurance from the Queen before he came, at least from Mr. Jermyn, who, no doubt, did exceed his commission; and the very deferring of this was grievous to him; and the more, because he found the same disrespect from all others, as he had done when he came first to Oxford.

He came frequently in the afternoon to Merton College; where the Queen lay, and where the King was for the most part at that time of the day, and both their Majesties looked well upon him, and spoke to him in public as occasion was administered. Sometimes the King went aside with him to the window, in the same room, where they spoke a quarter or half an hour together, out of the hearing of any body; which the Queen did often in the same manner; and Mr. Jermyn, who was about this time made a Baron, was very frequently with him. The King was always upon his guard towards him, and did not, in truth, abate any thing of his former rigour or prejudice, and continued firm to his former resolutions. But the Queen, whether from her inclination, or promise, or dislike of most other people, who were not so good courtiers, (as sure none was equal to him in that function and mystery,)

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did in truth heartily desire, that he might receive satisfaction in all things, according to his own desire ; and would have trusted him herself as much as formerly : yet she complied so far with the King's aversion, that she yet forbore to press it, or to own the encouragement she had given him ; nor had she a willingness to oppose so great a torrent of prejudice, as she saw evidently run against him ; so that she appeared not to wish, what without doubt she would have been very glad of. However the Marquis of Hertford was now come to Oxford, and expected the performance of the King's promise to him, and to be admitted into the office of Groom of the Stole ; of which the King took not the least notice to him since his return ; which made it the more suspected, that the intention was to readmit the old officer ; and this apprehension was confirmed by the Queen's looking less graciously upon the Marquis, than she had used to do. And it is true, though it may be she did not intend to make any such discovery by her looks, she was not pleased that any such promise was made, both because it was without her consent, and as it crossed what she designed ; and much desired that the Marquis could have been persuaded to have released it ; towards which the Lord Jermyn, with some passion, spoke to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, " how unreasonable " a thing it was for the Marquis, who was master of so " great a fortune, to affect such a low preferment," (as he termed it,) " and how generous a thing it would be to " quit his pretence : " but he quickly discovered him not to be willing to engage in any such proposition. All this wonderfully indisposed the other lords, and the persons of quality in the town, who did not wish to see the Court just filled as it had been, or the Queen herself possessed of so absolute a power, as she had been formerly ; though they looked upon her person with all duty and reverence.

The Earl of Holland did not act his own part with that art and dexterity, which might have been expected from his cunning and experience ; nor had ever made the least apology to the King for any thing he had formerly done ;



nor appeared to have the least sense that he had committed any error, as his Majesty himself declared to those, who he knew were his friends; and said, "that he behaved himself with the same confidence and assurance, as he had done when he was most in his favour; and that he retained still the old artifice at Court, to be seen to whisper in the King's and Queen's ear, by which people thought there was some secret, when the matter of those whispers was nothing but what might be said in the open Court; and that the Earl of Holland had several times seemed to desire to say somewhat in private to him, upon which he had withdrawn from the company to the end or corner of the room, and, at first, expected and apprehended, that he would say somewhat in his own excuse; but that he had never then said one word, but what he might have spoke in the circle; with which," the King said, "he was the better pleased; and that he believed, he had not been more particular in his discourse with the Queen, save that he used to entertain her with the wisdom and power of the Parliament, and what great things they would be able to do, and how much they were respected in foreign parts; which," his Majesty said, "was a strange discourse for a man to make, who had so lately left them, because he thought the King's condition to be the better of the two."

The Earl had a friend, who did heartily desire to do him all the offices and services that would consist with the King's honour, and always apprehended the ill consequence of discouraging such conversions, and who spoke often to the Earl of his own affairs. And when he complained of his usage, and repeated what promises and encouragement he had received to come to the King, and of what importance his good reception would have been; "that there were many of considerable reputation and interest in the House of Commons," (whom he named,) "who intended to have followed, and that the Earl of Northumberland expected only his advice;" his friend asked him, "whether he had done all things, since he

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“came to the King, which might reasonably be expected from him?” He said, “he thought he had done all that could be expected from him, in bringing himself to the King; and, since his coming to him, in venturing his life for him; and in lieu thereof he had not received thanks, or one gracious word; and now, after his office had been kept unbestowed near two years, and a promise made to him, that he should be restored to it, it was to be bestowed upon another, to make his disgrace the more notorious; which he thought would not prove for his Majesty’s honour or advantage.”

His friend asked him, “whether he had asked it of the King, or informed him of the promise that was made to him?” He said, “he had done neither, nor ever would; he expected it of the King’s grace, and would not extort it by a promise, which, it might be, his Majesty was not privy to.” The other replied very plainly to him, “that if he thought he had never committed any fault against the King, he had no reason to acknowledge it, or make excuse for it; but if he were conscious of any such, how unwarily soever it had been done, or how unmaliciously soever it had been intended, he ought to make some confession and apology to his Majesty; nor could his Majesty, with the safety of his honour, avow the receiving him into any trust without it; nor was he capable of receiving any offices from his friends, or the Queen’s own declared interposition on his behalf, till he had performed that necessary introduction.” He told him, “if he would follow his advice, he believed he might receive some effect of it;” which was, “that he should send to desire a private audience of his Majesty in some room, where nobody might be present; which would not be refused him; and then he should (with all the excuses upon the terror the Parliament gave to all men, who had exceeded the common rules, in their administration of the trust they had from his Majesty; as he could not deny he had done in many particulars for the advancement of his Majesty’s service) confess, that he had not

“ been hardy enough to condemn that power, but had been  
“ so much in awe of it, that he chose rather to presume  
“ upon his Majesty’s goodness, than to provoke their jea-  
“ lousy and displeasure; and so had complied with them  
“ more, than in his duty and gratitude to his Majesty he  
“ ought to have done; for which he begged his pardon  
“ upon his knees; and if he might obtain it, he made no  
“ doubt, he should wipe out the memory of past offences  
“ by some new services, which should be beneficial to his  
“ Majesty;” and he added, “ that he would do very well, if  
“ he would sue out his pardon, as the Earl of Bedford had  
“ done; who had asked it of the King when he first kissed  
“ his hand, and had since wisely taken it out under the  
“ great seal of England.”

The Earl of Holland seemed not at all pleased with this advice; said, “ He did not think, though he would  
“ not justify all that he had done, his transgressions were  
“ of that magnitude, that they required such a formality  
“ of asking pardon; that his case was very different from  
“ that of the Earl of Bedford, who had been in arms, and  
“ a general officer in the field against the King; whereas  
“ he had only sat in the Parliament, as lawfully he might  
“ do; and if he had failed in his attendance upon his Ma-  
“ jesty, and otherwise deserved his displeasure, he had  
“ received so many marks of it before he deserved it, that  
“ might well transport a very faithful servant into a dis-  
“ content. That as soon as he found himself restored to  
“ any proportion of his Majesty’s grace and confidence,  
“ his own inclination would carry him to as humble apo-  
“ logies, and as deep acknowledgments of all his trans-  
“ gressions, as could be expected from him, and such as  
“ he believed would reconcile the King’s goodness to him:  
“ but to make the first advance by such a kind of sub-  
“ mission, he did not think he could prevail over himself  
“ to do it.” However, he took his advice very kindly,  
and spoke often with him after upon the same subject.

Being, upon conference with some other friends, advised the same, especially by his daughter, (whom he loved



**BOOK VII.** and esteemed exceedingly,) he seemed resolved to do it; but whether he thought worse of the King's affairs, or liked the Court the less, because he saw the poverty of it, and that whatever place or favour he might obtain, he could not expect a support from it to defray his expences, (nor could he draw it from any other place,) he delayed it so long, that the King found it reasonable to confer the office he had before promised, upon the Marquis of Hertford.

The Earl of Holland returns into the Parliament's quarters.

Upon which he withdrew himself, for his convenience, to a neighbour village, where he had a private lodging; and, after a few days, with the help of a dark night and a good guide, he got himself into the enemy's quarters, and laid himself at the feet of the Parliament; which, after a short imprisonment, gave him leave to live in his own house, without farther considering him, than as a man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himself as grateful to them as he could, by an act very unsuitable to his honour, or his own generous nature: for he published a declaration in print of the cause of his going to, and returning from, Oxford; in which he endeavoured to make it believed, "that his compassion and love to his country had only prevailed with him to go to the King, in hope to have been able, upon the long knowledge his Majesty had of his fidelity, to persuade him to make a peace with his Parliament; which, from the time of his coming thither, he had laboured to do; but that he found the Court so indisposed to peace, and that the Papists had so great a power there," (using many expressions dishonourable towards the King and his Council,) "that he resolved to make what haste he could back to the Parliament, and to spend the remainder of his life in their service:" which action, so contrary to his own natural discretion and generosity, lost him the affection of those few who had preserved some kindness for him, and got him credit with nobody; and may teach all men how dangerous it is to step aside out of the path of innocence and virtue, upon any presumption to be able to get into

it again; since such men usually satisfy themselves in doing any thing to mend the present exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that condition of innocence, from whence they departed with a purpose, perhaps, of returning.

However, this unhappy ill carriage of the Earl doth not absolve the Court from oversight in treating him no better; which was a great error; and made the King, and all those about him, looked upon as implacable; and so diverted all men from farther thoughts of returning to their duty by such application, and made those who abhorred the war, and the violent counsels in the carrying it on, choose rather to acquiesce, and expect a conjuncture when a general peace might be made, than to expose themselves by unseasonable and unwelcome addresses. The Earl of Northumberland, who was gone to Petworth, as is said before, with a purpose of going to the King, if by the Lord Conway's negotiation, and the Earl of Holland's reception, he found encouragement, returned to the Parliament, where he was received with great respect, all men concluding, that he had never intended to do, what he had not done. And the other members, who had entertained the same resolutions, changed their minds with him, and returned to their former station: and the two Earls who yet remained at Oxford, shortly after found means to make their peace at Westminster; and returned again to their own habitation in London, without farther mark of displeasure, than a restraint, for a time, from coming to the House of Peers, or being trusted in their counsels.

And likewise the Earls of Bedford and Clare.

The committee from the two Houses of Parliament, which was sent into Scotland in July before, in the distraction of their affairs, when Sir William Waller was defeated, and the Earl of Essex's army unserviceable, as is remembered, found that kingdom in so good and ready a posture for their reception, that they had called an Assembly of their Kirk, and a Convention of their Estates, without, and expressly against, the King's consent, and without any colour of law; for the time, when, by their

The transactions of the committee of the two Houses in Scotland.

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late Act of Parliament, they might of right challenge those meetings, was not come by almost a year; and the King had refused to convene them sooner. That kingdom was at unity and peace amongst themselves, and so at the more leisure to help their neighbours; and the government of all affairs in their hands who were to be confided in; and they again ruled and disposed by a few, who were thoroughly engaged in the counsels and discomposures in England; for all those who were visibly affected to the King's service, or disaffected eminently to the persons in authority there, were fled the kingdom: and they who stayed behind, either had, or pretended to have, the same affections; of which a full declared zeal, and good-will to the Parliament of England, was a common evidence.

So that the committee found as good a welcome as they could wish, and all men disposed to gain their good opinion: a committee was appointed, both out of the Convention of Estates, and the Assembly, "to treat with them, and to make such conclusions, as might be thought necessary to advance the peace and happiness of both kingdoms." These men complied with them, in their full sense of the sad condition of the affairs of England, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes which should befall them: they said, "they well understood how much the fate of Scotland was involved in what should befall the Parliament of England; and that if the King prevailed by force, and, by the power of his army, oppressed those friends, who had expressed a tenderness formerly towards them, they had reason to expect the same army should be applied to the revenge of those indignities they would easily persuade his Majesty, he had suffered from that his native kingdom: and therefore they needed no arguments to persuade them to commiserate the estate of their brethren of England; or to convince them, that their case was their own, and their mutual safety bound up together: but that those politic arguments and considerations would have no influence upon the people, who had such a natural affection



“and loyalty to their Sovereign, as no earthly consideration would be able to prevail with them to lessen their obedience towards his Majesty; and that, albeit there was no visible party and faction, that appeared in the kingdom for the King, yet that there were many well wishers to him, and maligners, in their hearts, of the present reformation; who, as soon as there should be any preparation for an army to march into England, would be ready, upon the specious arguments of duty to his Majesty, and of peace to their country, and might be able to give great disturbance to the expedition, or to disquiet the realm, when the most eminently affected were marched towards the relief of their distressed neighbours; except some obligation of conscience were laid upon the people; who only preferred what they called their piety to God, before their inclination to their Prince, and the setting up the kingdom of Jesus Christ, before the vindication of a temporal jurisdiction.”

For such an expedient, therefore, they proposed, “that a Covenant might be agreed upon between the two kingdoms, for the utter extirpation of prelacy, which that kingdom was satisfied to be a great obstruction to the reformation of religion; and the two Houses of Parliament had discovered a sufficient aversion from that government, by having passed a bill for their utter abolition, and in the place thereof to erect such a government, as should be most agreeable to God’s word, which they doubted not would be their own presbytery; and that the people being cemented together by such an obligation, would never be severed and disjoined by any temptation.”

A Covenant proposed by the Scots between the two kingdoms, and agreed to.

There was an easy consent, from the committee of the English, to any expedient that might thoroughly engage the other nation; and so a form of words was quickly agreed on between them, for a perfect combination and marriage between the Parliament and the Scots, in all such particulars, as were most like to be unacceptable to the King; and this form being presently communicated to

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the Convention of Estates, and the Assembly, as soon found an approbation and concurrence there, with as much solemnity, as was necessary to shew their temper and resolution, and to gain the consent of the two Houses at Westminster, whither it was dispatched with all imaginable celerity, and a signification, "that that people were in such a forwardness to advance, that they would be in England as soon as they could be reasonably expected." And it was indeed apparent enough, that, upon their discipline since the late commotions, and the cunning pre-sage and foresight of that people, there was nothing requisite to their march, but the calling them together.

Many were of opinion, that this engagement was proposed "rather to decline being engaged in the quarrel, than out of hope or imagination that the two Houses would concur with them; for though there had been a bill passed, before the last treaty with the King, to that purpose, yet they well knew that most of the Peers, and persons of quality and interest in the other House, were willing to depart from that overture. Besides, amongst those who raged jointly against episcopacy, there were so many opinions, that it would be no less difficult to establish their presbytery, than to root out the other government, to which they intended by their Covenant equally to oblige them: so that upon this proposition, which was according to the known temper of that nation, they should preserve themselves plausibly, and without seeming to desert their confederates, from bearing any part in the present troubles. However, it would visibly take up so much time, that if there were no ebb in the King's prosperity and success, he might well finish his work, and this interposition be interpreted for a politic stratagem to amuse the English." But if this was their stratagem, they met with people too frank hearted, and not scrupulous to contribute towards it: for the draught of the Covenant no sooner came to Westminster, but they shewed a marvellous inclination to it. Yet as well because it was not yet known what success the Earl of Essex would

have in the relief of Gloucester, which was like to have a shrewd influence upon men's affections and consciences, as that they might seem to use all necessary deliberation and caution, for the information of their judgments in a new case, that concerned the religion and ecclesiastical fabric of the kingdom, they transmitted it to their Assembly of Divines, to return their opinion "of the lawfulness of "taking it in point of conscience."

The Assembly, besides that it was constituted of members who had all renounced their obedience to their King, and submission to the Church of England, by their appearance and presence in that Convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to dissent from the current opinion of the House of Commons: for Doctor Featly, (upon whose reputation in learning they had raised great advantages to themselves,) having made many speeches in the Assembly in the behalf of "the order of Bishops, and "their function, and against the alienation of church-lands, "as sacrilege," and especially inveighed against "the liberty that was taken in matter of religion, by which so "many sects were grown up to the scandal and reproach "of the Protestant doctrine, if not of Christianity itself," had so far incurred their displeasure, and provoked their jealousy, that an ordinary fellow (so well confirmed in spirit, that they feared not his failing or conversion) was directed to make application to him in cases of conscience, and after he had gotten sufficient credit with him, (which was no hard matter,) to intimate to him, "that he had a "sure and unquestionable conveyance to Oxford, or that "he was to go thither himself, and if he had any occasions "to use his service thither, he would faithfully execute "his commands." The Doctor, believing the messenger to be sincere, and the King's affairs standing then prosperous, gave him letters for the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, who waited on his Majesty; and by this artifice, the same instrument received two or three letters from him, pretending they were still sent by infallible hands; and brought them always to those per-



BOOK sons by whom he was intrusted in the work of his im-  
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The letters contained many apologies for himself, “for being engaged in such a congregation, to which he submitted purely out of conscience, and for the service of the King and Church, in hope that he might be able to prevent many extravagancies, and to contain those unruly spirits within some bounds of regularity and moderation;” of his endeavours that way, he gave many instances; and sent copies of what he had said in justification of episcopacy, the liturgy, and the established government, and concluded with a desire to his Grace, “to procure a good opinion from the King towards him, and some bishopric or deanery for his recompense.” About the time that this agitation was in Scotland, and very little before this Covenant was transmitted, these letters were produced, and a charge against that Doctor, “for betraying the trust reposed in him, and adhering to the enemy;” and thereupon the poor man was expelled the Assembly of Divines, both his livings (for he had two within a very small distance of London) sequestered, his study of books and estate seized, and himself committed to a common gaol, where he continued to his death; which befell him the sooner, through the extreme wants he underwent; so solicitous was that party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and so implacable to any who were weary of their journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

This fresh example the *Assembly of godly and learned Divines* had before their eyes when this Covenant was sent to them for their consideration, and speedy resolution; and according to the haste it required, that clergy returned within two days their full approbation of it; there having been but two ministers who made any pause or scruple of it, and they again soon confessing “they had received full satisfaction to their doubts in the debate, and that they were fully convinced of the lawfulness and piety of it.” Having received so absolute an approbation and concur-

rence, and the battle of Newbury being in that time likewise over, (which cleared and removed more doubts, than the Assembly had done,) it stuck very few hours with both Houses; but being at once judged convenient and lawful, the Lords and Commons, and their Assembly of Divines, met together at the Church, with great solemnity to take it, on the five and twentieth day of September; a double holyday, by the Earl of Essex's return to London, and this religious exercise.

It is taken  
and sub-  
scribed by  
the Lords  
and Com-  
mons and  
their As-  
sembly of  
Divines,  
Sept. 25.

There, two or three of their divines went up into the pulpit successively, not to preach, but to pray; others, according to their several gifts, to make orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, "that this  
"oath was such, and in the matter and consequence of it  
"of such concernment, as it was truly worthy of them,  
"yea of those kingdoms, yea of all the kingdoms of the  
"world: that it could be no other, but the result and an-  
"swer of such prayers and tears, of such sincerity and  
"sufferings, that three kingdoms should be thus born, or  
"rather new born, in a day: that they were entering upon  
"a work of the greatest moment and concernment to  
"themselves, and to their posterities after them, that ever  
"was undertaken by any of them, or any of their fore-  
"fathers before them. That it was a duty of the first  
"commandment, and therefore of the highest and noblest  
"order and rank of duties; therefore must come forth at-  
"tended with choicest graces, fear, humility, and in the  
"greatest simplicity, and plainness of spirit, and respect  
"of those with whom they covenanted. That it was to  
"advance the kingdom of Christ here upon earth, and  
"make Jerusalem once more the praise of the whole  
"earth, notwithstanding all the contradictions of men;" with many such high expressions, as can hardly be conceived, without the view of the records and registry that is kept of them.

It will be here most necessary, that posterity may be informed of the rare conclusion, in which two nations, with such wonderful unanimity, did agree, and which was cal-

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culated also for the meridian of a third kingdom, (for Ireland is likewise comprehended in it,) to insert this League and Covenant in the precise terms in which it was received, and entered into; which was in these words.

*A solemn League and Covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

A copy of  
the Cove-  
nant.

“ We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts, in the kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one King, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the King’s Majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one’s private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God, against the true religion, and professors thereof, in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time, increased and exercised, (whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies,) we have now at last, (after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings,) for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God’s people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all



“ subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear,

1. “ That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship, and catechising; that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. “ That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men’s sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three kingdoms.

3. “ We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour, with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King’s Majesty’s person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and liberties of the kingdoms; that the world may bear witness, with our consciences, of our loyalty; and that we have no thoughts or inten-

BOOK " tions to diminish his Majesty's just power and great-  
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4. " We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the  
 " discovery of all such as have been, or shall be, incendi-  
 " aries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the  
 " reformation of religion, dividing the King from his peo-  
 " ple, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making  
 " any factions or parties among the people, contrary to  
 " this League and Covenant; that they may be brought  
 " to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the  
 " degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the  
 " supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or  
 " others having power from them for that effect, shall  
 " judge convenient.

5. " And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace be-  
 " tween these kingdoms, denied in former times to our  
 " progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted  
 " unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by  
 " both Parliaments, we shall, each one of us, according to  
 " our places and interest, endeavour, that they may remain  
 " conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and  
 " that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers  
 " thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

6. " We shall also, according to our places and callings,  
 " in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of  
 " the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into  
 " this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pur-  
 " suing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or  
 " indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or  
 " terror, to be divided, and withdrawn from this blessed  
 " union and conjunction, whether to make defection to  
 " the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable in-  
 " difference or neutrality in this cause, which so much  
 " concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms,  
 " and the honour of the King; but shall, all the days of  
 " our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein,  
 " against all opposition, and promote the same according  
 " to our power, against all lets and impediments whatso-

“ever. And what we are not able ourselves to suppress  
 “or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it  
 “may be timely prevented or removed; all which we  
 “shall do as in the sight of God. BOOK  
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“And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins,  
 “and provocations against God, and his son Jesus Christ,  
 “as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers,  
 “the fruits thereof; we profess and declare, before God  
 “and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for  
 “our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms; espe-  
 “cially, that we have not, as we ought, valued the ines-  
 “timable benefit of the Gospel, that we have not laboured  
 “for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not  
 “endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk  
 “worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other  
 “sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us:  
 “and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endea-  
 “vour for ourselves, and all others under our power and  
 “charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we  
 “owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one  
 “to go before another in the example of a real reform-  
 “ation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and  
 “heavy indignation, and establish these churches and  
 “kingdoms in truth and peace. And this Covenant we  
 “make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of  
 “all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as  
 “we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all  
 “hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the  
 “Lord to strengthen us by his holy Spirit, for this end;  
 “and to bless our desires and proceedings with such suc-  
 “cess, as may be a deliverance and safety to his people,  
 “and encouragement to other Christian churches, groan-  
 “ing under, or in danger of, the yoke of Antichristian ty-  
 “ranny, to join in the same, or like association and cove-  
 “nant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the king-  
 “dom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of  
 “Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.”

As soon as this solemnity was over, which was con-



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cluded by Mr. Henderson, (the sole ecclesiastical commissioner from the kingdom of Scotland,) who magnified what they had done, and assured them “ of great success “ after it, by the experience of that nation, who, from “ their union in their first Covenant, found nothing hard “ they proposed to themselves;” and told them, “ that “ were that Covenant now painted upon the wall within “ the Pope’s palace, it would doubtless put him into Bel- “ shazzar’s quaking condition;” the Speaker and Commons (having first set their hands to the Covenant, after they had taken it) returned to their House; and observing that many of their members were that day absent, the cause whereof was easy to be guessed, they ordered, “ that, “ as soon as they came into the House, the Covenant “ should be tendered to them; and whosoever refused to “ take it, should be proceeded against, as a disaffected “ person, in such manner as the House should think fit.”

The Cove-  
nant or-  
dered to be  
taken by  
others,  
especially  
by the city.

They farther made a special order, “ that all the mi-  
“ nisters of parish-churches within London and West-  
“ minster, the suburbs, and the whole line of communica-  
“ tion, should read and explain the Covenant to their se-  
“ veral congregations, and stir them up, the next fast day,  
“ to the cheerful taking of it:” and particular care was  
taken, that all the students of the Inns of Court should be  
persuaded to receive it. But, over and above these general  
directions, there was a particular ceremony and applica-  
tion to recommend this Covenant to the city and corpora-  
tion of London, and another use to be made of it. The  
Covenant was not only to bring, but to keep men together,  
and the taking it had only inclined the Scots to march to  
their assistance; they were to have one hundred thousand  
pounds advanced to them, and paid at Edinburgh, before  
they could stir; and how to advance this great sum, was  
not easy to resolve. All their ordinances for levying of  
money were expired; their issues and disbursements so  
vast, that no income was sufficient; their exchequer was  
exhausted, and even their public faith bankrupt: such an-  
ticipations upon all kind of receipts, for monies borrowed

and already spent, that they had no capital for future security. BOOK  
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The judicature of the House of Peers (though their number was but ten, for there was no more at the sentence of Justice Berkley) had helped them all they could. Justice Berkley, who had been committed by them to the Tower, shortly after the beginning of the Parliament, upon a charge of high treason, and since the beginning of the war, permitted to sit as sole Judge in the King's Bench one whole term, was now brought to judgment; and by their Lordships fined the sum of twenty thousand pounds, and made incapable of any place of judicature; and upon abatement of half, and his liberty, he paid the other ten thousand pounds together, to those persons they appointed to receive it; which, since all fines are due to the King alone, and cannot be disposed but by him, many thought a greater crime than that for which he was sentenced. Baron Trevor, who was fined for the same offence, and suffered still to continue the same office, in which he had committed his misdemeanor, yielded them as much more. But these petty sums were disposed before they were received, and were but small drops to quench the great drought they sustained: so that the reputation and security of this Covenant was, amongst other uses, to bring in money too.

To that purpose, a committee of Lords and Commons, with some of their Divines of the Assembly, was sent to the Guildhall, where the Mayor had called a Common Council for their reception, to recommend to them "the  
" wonderful advantage and strength their party should  
" gain by taking, and being united in, this Covenant; and  
" the desperate condition they were like to be in without  
" it: if the Scots came not to their assistance, which,  
" without this obligation, they could not do, they were in  
" danger to be overwhelmed by the enemy; or at least to  
" make a disadvantageous and dishonourable peace with  
" them; which yet they could not tell how it would be ob-  
" served and kept. On the other hand, by this famous ac-

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“cession of strength of a whole nation, they should undoubtedly be able to master the war, and to make those who had been the causers of it, defray the charge; and so all the public debts being discharged out of the estates of Delinquents and Malignants, the kingdom would not be at all impoverished, and the peace, which should hereafter be made with the King, would be sure to be inviolably observed by the strength of this union; and therefore that it could not be purchased at too dear a rate.

“It was,” they said, “neither covetousness, nor want of affection and zeal to their relief, that the Scots, who took their cause to heart as their own, desired an advance of money before they drew their army into England, but pure necessity, and the poverty of that kingdom, already exhausted by their late expeditions, and keeping their soldiers together for the good of this. And if there had been money enough in that country to have been procured upon the public stock and revenue, or the mortgage of private estates, to which all men were forward for the public good, their love to their brethren here was such, that they would neither have asked nor received money for their assistance, after it had proved effectual; much less, before the yielding it. For evidence of which frank and brotherly inclination, they freely offered the engagement of their own estates, for the repayment of the money that should be advanced:” which was the first time that ever land in Scotland had been offered for security of money, borrowed in the city of London. In the end, they very devoutly extolled the Covenant, magnified the Scottish nation, with all imaginable attributes of esteem and reverence, “a nation, that had engaged itself to God in a higher way, in a more extraordinary way, than any nation this day upon the face of the earth had done; a nation, that had reformed their lives for so small a time, more than ever any people, that they knew of, in the world had done; a nation, that God had honoured by giving as glorious



“ success unto, as ever he did unto any :” and very earnestly desired the loan of a hundred thousand pounds. The rhetoric and the zeal prevailed ; a hundred thousand pounds was promised, and shortly provided, and sent to Edinburgh ; and the assurance of the Scots coming so full, that they were looked upon as masters of Newcastle already. With such an alacrity all these things were transacted.

That violent party in the Parliament, which never intended any peace with the King, and had more desperate mutations in their purposes, than they avowed, even amongst those who concurred with them in all they desired, did not think themselves secure in the affection of the people, nor in those who had the greatest trust in their affairs. They had seen the great changes in the Houses, in the city, and in the country, upon their late ill successes, the defeat of Waller, and the loss of Bristol : and though the Earl of Essex still adhered to them, yet they saw he was not pleased, nor favoured one of those men upon whom they most depended ; but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by him, or in his confidence, were men of such principles as they liked not, or who desired no other alterations in the court or government, but only of the persons who acted in it : therefore they had taken an opportunity, in the greatest dejection of spirit, and when they looked upon themselves as near swallowed up by the King’s power, to move, “ that they  
“ might send into Scotland to their brethren there, to join  
“ with them, and to assist them with an army, that they  
“ might, by such a conjunction, have a support, to make  
“ them so considerable, as to be treated with, and to receive conditions which might preserve them from ruin :” which proposition, being for so common an interest and benefit, had received a general concurrence ; and so that committee of both Houses had been sent into Scotland, to put them in mind “ of their joint concernment, and how  
“ impossible it would be for the Scots long to enjoy the  
“ great concessions they had obtained from the King,

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“when the Parliament of England, by whose friendship, power, and authority, they had obtained them, should be oppressed, and forced to yield to such conditions for their particular preservations, as the King would think fit to give them.” But they were not a little startled, when they found this message had obliged them to a present expence of a hundred thousand pounds, before there was any visible relief given them; and saw themselves involved in new obligations of guilt, and to purposes they really never intended.

There hath been scarce any thing more wonderful throughout the progress of these distractions, than that this Covenant did with such extraordinary expedition pass the two Houses, when all the leading persons in those councils were at the same time known to be as great enemies to Presbytery, (the establishment whereof was the main end of this Covenant,) as they were to the King or the Church. And he who contributed most to it, and, in truth, was the principal contriver of it, and the man by whom the committee in Scotland was entirely and stupidly governed, Sir Harry Vane the younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the Covenant, and the Presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at them then, as much as ever he did afterwards.

He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, a great understanding, which pierced into and discerned the purposes of other men with wonderful sagacity, whilst he had himself *vultum clausum*, that no man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to Mr. Hambden, he was inferior to no other man, in all mysterious artifices. There need no more be said of his ability, than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation, which was thought to excel in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people, that could not

otherwise be prevailed upon than by advancing their idol Presbytery, to sacrifice their peace, their interest, and their faith, to the erecting a power and authority that resolved to persecute Presbytery to an extirpation; and, in process of time, very near brought their purpose to pass.

The nation of Scotland, in general, had been so fully satisfied in all that they could pretend to desire, that they were very well disposed to be spectators of what was done in England, without engaging themselves in the quarrel; and though there were some powerful men amongst them, whose guilt would not suffer them to believe that they could be otherwise secure, than by the King's want of power to call them to justice, yet their number was not thought so great, as to be able to corrupt the people into a barefaced act of rebellion: nor had they any such face of authority, as to invite them to it. Without a Parliament, they could not propose it; the King had absolutely refused to call a Parliament, and it was yet above a year to come, before a Parliament could be assembled without the King's consent; and in that time, the King might have the better of his enemies. However, the commissioners of the Parliament had not been long at Edinburgh, before they prevailed with the Council to call a Parliament; which Duke Hamilton, and others, who pretended great devotion to the King, and were of the Council, had promised the King to oppose, and said, "they were powerful enough to prevent it." When it came to the point, Duke Hamilton, being, one way or other, persuaded himself, persuaded others, "that the absolute refusal to suffer a Parliament to be called, would not quiet the debate, nor secure the King, but more inflame those who desired it; who would take some other time, when many of them who opposed it should be absent, to propose it; and so would carry it: and that therefore they were better be absent at first, whereby the others might, without opposition, send out their summons for a Parliament to assemble, at the day they thought fit; and that, as they who would serve the King would not be there, so they



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“should prevail with as many others as they could, not to be there likewise; whereby the number which appeared would be so inconsiderable, that they would not dare to sit, but perfectly disperse; and this disappointment would for ever quash that design, and render those who advised it odious to the people; as men who desired illegally to engage the nation in unjustifiable ways, to disturb the public peace.”

A Parliament summoned by the Covenanters in Scotland.

A summons was accordingly sent out to call a Parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time, those of the nobility and gentry, who did really desire to serve the King, applied themselves to Duke Hamilton, (whose advice and orders the King himself had required them to observe; unhappily still believing him to be faithful,) to know what they should do: many of the principal of them declaring their opinions to him, “that they should take an opportunity to meet together, and bring their friends with them, whereby they might make a good body of horse, and so, with their arms in their hands, they would declare against the legality of that Parliament, and the meeting in it:” and named a fit opportunity to him for such a meeting at the funeral of a lady, which was to be within some days, when, according to the custom of that people, great numbers of persons of quality use to assemble, to do honour to the dead in the last obsequies. He told them, “he believed it must come shortly to that remedy, but conceived it not yet time, and that such a meeting would frighten the people, and increase the number in Parliament, and make many resort to them for their directions.” He likewise said, “he had changed his former opinion, concerning their own being absent at that time of the meeting of the Parliament, since their mere absence would not be discountenance enough, and that they who sat, would carry the reputation of a Parliament, and the people would be guided by them, if there were nothing but their absence to work upon their inclinations and affections.”

He proposed therefore to them, "that they would all resolve to be present, and take their places; and that, when the House should be sat, and any man should stand up to propose the taking any business into consideration, he (the Duke) would first make his protestation against proceeding in so illegal a convention, and then they should all make the same protestation; and he did hope, that the number of the protesters would be great enough to dissolve the meeting; and thus they should put the best end to the matter that could be desired: but if it should succeed otherwise, then would be the time to withdraw and put themselves in arms; towards which he would make the best preparation he could; and desired them to do the like." The Earl of Kinoul, and some others, made exception against this expedient, and pressed the former meeting at the funeral, till the Duke told them, "the King liked the other way better;" and pulled a letter out of his pocket, which he had received from his Majesty, and read them so much of it, as contained his approbation, "that they should meet in the Parliament;" in which determination they could not but acquiesce, though they thought at the same time, that his Majesty was betrayed.

The Parliament met at the day; and Duke Hamilton, according to his promise, took an opportunity to say somewhat that seemed to imply a protestation against the meeting; upon which, many of the Lords, who had been always most engaged against the King, were very warm; and demanded, "that he should declare himself clearly, whether he did protest against the Parliament;" whereupon his brother the Earl of Lanrick, who was Secretary of State to the King, stood up, and said, "that he hoped that noble Lord's affection to his country was better known, than that any man could imagine he would protest against the Parliament of the kingdom;" and then the Duke explained, and excused himself; and said, "he meant no such thing:" and so they declared, "that

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“they would treat with the commissioners, who were sent from the Parliament of England;” and appointed commissioners for that purpose.

Some are of opinion, that, even at this time, they did not intend to engage in the war against the King; but that, as a few men cozened the Parliament at Westminster, by persuading them, “that they desired only a safe peace,” till, by multiplication of indignities, they made it impossible to make a peace that would appear safe; so there was as small a number in Scotland, that overreached the Parliament there, by persuading, “that they never intended to do any thing against the King, but that it would be too ingrateful a thing, and render them very odious to the whole English nation, if, after they had received so many obligations from the Parliament there, to whose protection they owed their religion, and all that they enjoyed, they should refuse so much as to treat with them, and to assist them, by their interposition, to procure a good peace for them with the King; which would be a great honour to them; and would be as great an obligation to his Majesty, as to the Parliament.” That this was all that was in their thoughts; and that they would avoid any engagement in a war, not by rejecting the proposition, but by making such demands, as they knew well would never be accepted by the Parliament at Westminster. Thereupon they told the commissioners from that Parliament, “that it would be impossible to engage their nation in a joint concurrence with them, against the King, but by the influence and authority of their Kirk; and that it would be as impossible to procure the consent of their Kirk, except by making it evident to them, that the government of the Church in England should be reduced to the same model with theirs in Scotland; and that episcopacy should be totally extirpated; and that Deans and Chapters should be utterly abolished; without which,” they said, “they could never think their own government securely established; but if such a



“ promise might be solemnly made, their Kirk would be  
 “ throughly engaged, and the nation, to a man, would  
 “ enter into the quarrel.”

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Sir Harry Vane was not surprised with the proposition, which he had long foreseen, and came resolved to pay their own price for their friendship. Thereupon, as hath been already said, the Covenant was prepared, and other propositions made for the present furnishing a great sum of money, to enable them to begin their levies; and many other extravagant conditions proposed on the Scots' part, for the payment of the army, and other vast expences, that they did not believe the commissioners would yield, or that the Parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of money, or honour, made any delay; and they came provided with some letters of credit, that as little time might be lost as was possible, in making all necessary preparations. The Covenant was the matter of difficulty; they knowing well, that many of their greatest friends, both in the Parliament and the army, had not any mind to change the government of the Church; to which the people of England were not generally disaffected.

Sir Harry Vane therefore (who equally hated episcopacy and presbytery, save that he wished the one abolished with much impatience, believing it much easier to keep the other from being established, whatever they promised, than to be rid of that which was settled in the kingdom) carefully considered the Covenant, and after he had altered and changed many expressions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he, and his fellow commissioners, signed the whole treaty; whereby it was provided, “ That the Covenant should be taken through-  
 “ out all his Majesty's dominions; that a committee of the  
 “ Scots should always sit with the close committee at  
 “ Westminster for the carrying on of the war with equal  
 “ authority; that there should be no treaty of peace with  
 “ the King, without the joint consent of the Parliaments  
 “ of both kingdoms;” and many other particulars, very derogatory to the honour of the English nation; and with

The substance of the treaty between the English commissioners and the Scots.

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all possible expedition sent it to the close committee at Westminster; in the time of their consternation, and before the relief of Gloucester; which transmitted it presently back to them, allowed and confirmed.

The Scots  
raise an ar-  
my under  
Lesley.

And thereupon the Parliament at Edinburgh resolved to raise a great army, and to invade England; and their old General Lesley, who had so solemnly promised the King, not only “never to bear arms against him, but to serve him, let the cause be what it would,” without any hesitation undertook the command of it. All this time, Duke Hamilton looked on, and sometimes sat with them; and when the first proclamation was prepared, in the King’s name, for a general rendezvous of all men, from such an age to such an age, at such a time and place, that so their army might be presently formed, the Earl of Lanrick put the King’s signet, with the keeping whereof he was trusted, to the said proclamation: and all this being done, both the brothers left Scotland, to give the King an account at Oxford of all the proceedings: many of the nobility of that kingdom, who did heartily wish well to the King, being gone from thence, after the first day’s meeting of their Parliament; (when the Duke had broken his promise to them,) and informed his Majesty at large of that which they thought foul infidelity.

Divisions  
amongst  
the councils  
at Oxford.

The discomposures, jealousies, and disgusts, which reigned at Oxford, produced great inconveniences; and as, many times, men in a scuffle lose their weapons, and light upon those which belonged to their adversaries, who again arm themselves with those which belonged to the others, such, one would have thought, had been the fortune of the King’s army in the encounters with the enemy’s: for those under the King’s commanders grew insensibly into all the licence, disorder, and impiety, with which they had reproached the rebels; and they, into great discipline, diligence, and sobriety; which begot courage and resolution in them, and notable dexterity in achievements and enterprises. Insomuch as one side seemed to fight for monarchy, with the weapons of confusion, and

the other to destroy the King and government, with all the principles and regularity of monarchy.

In the beginning of the troubles, the King had very prudently resolved with himself, to confer no honours, or bestow any offices or preferments, upon any, till the end and conclusion of the service; and if that resolution had continued, he would have found much ease by it, and his service great advantage. The necessity and exigents of the war, shortly after, made some breach into this seasonable resolution, and, for ready money to carry on the war, his Majesty was compelled, against his nature, to dispense some favours, which he would not willingly have suffered to be purchased, but by virtue and high merit. Then all men thought money and money-worth to be all one; and that whosoever, by his service, had deserved a reward of money, had deserved any thing that might be had for money. And when it was apparent, that the war was like to prove a business of time, it was thought unreasonable, that the King should not confer rewards on some, which he was able to do, because he could not do it on all, which was confessedly out of his power. And so, by importunity, and upon the title of old promises, and some conveniences of his service, he bestowed honours upon some principal officers of his army, and offices upon others; to which, though, in the particulars, no just exceptions could be taken, yet many were angry to see some preferred; and not so much extolling their own merit and service, as making it equal to those whom they saw advanced, every man thought himself neglected and slighted, in that another was better esteemed.

And this poison of envy wrought upon many natures, which had skill enough not to confess it: the soldiers, albeit they were emulous amongst themselves, and very unsatisfied with one another, (there being unhappy animosities amongst the principal officers,) yet they were too well united, and reconciled against any other body of men; and thinking the King's crown depended wholly on the fortune of their swords, believed no other persons to



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be considerable, and no councils fit to be consulted with, but the martial; and thence proceeded a fatal disrespect and irreverence to the council of state, to which, by the wholesome constitution of the kingdom, the militia, garrisons, and all martial power is purely and naturally subordinate; and by the authority and prudence whereof, provision could be only reasonably expected, for the countenance and support of the army.

The General and Prince Rupert were both strangers to the government and custom of the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the nobility, and the King's ministers, or with their rights: and the Prince's heart was so wholly set upon actions of war, that he not only neglected, but too much contemned, the peaceable and civil arts, which were most necessary even to the carrying on of the other. And certainly, somewhat like that which Plutarch says of the Roman auguries, "that Octavius lost his life by trusting to them, and that Marius prospered the better, because he did not altogether despise them," may be said of popularity: though he that too immoderately and importunately affects it (which was the case of the Earl of Essex) will hardly continue innocent; yet he who too affectedly despises or neglects what is said of him, or what is generally thought of persons or things, and too stoically contemns the affections of men, even of vulgar, (be his other abilities and virtues as great as can be imagined,) will, in some conjuncture of time, find himself very unfortunate. And it may be, a better reason cannot be assigned for the misfortunes that hopeful young Prince (who had great parts of mind, as well as vigour of body, and an incomparable personal courage) underwent, and the kingdom thereby, than that unpolished roughness of his nature; which rendered him less patient to hear, and consequently less skilful to judge of those things, which should have guided him in the discharge of his important trust: and making an unskilful judgment of the unusefulness of the councils, by his observation of the infirmities and weakness of some particular counsellors, he grew to a full dis-

esteem of the acts of that board; which must ever be respected, as long as the regal power is exercised in England.

I cannot but, on this occasion, continue this digression thus much farther, to observe, that they who avoid public debates in council, or think them of no moment, upon undervaluing the persons of some counsellors, and from the particular infirmities of the men, the heaviness of this man, the levity of another, the weakness and simplicity of a third, conclude, that the advice and opinions of many are not requisite to any great design, are exceedingly deceived; and will perniciously deceive others who are misled by those conclusions. For it is in wisdom, as it is in beauty, a face that, being taken in pieces, affords scarce one exact feature, an eye, or a nose, or a tooth, or a brow, or a mouth, against which a visible just exception may not be taken, yet altogether, by a gracefulness and vivacity in the whole, may constitute an excellent beauty, and be more charming than another, whose symmetry is more faultless; so there are many men, who in one particular argument may be unskilful, in another affected, who may seem to have some levity, and vanity, or formality, in ordinary and cursory conversation, (a very crooked rule to measure any man's abilities, as giving a better measure of the humour, than of the understanding,) and yet in formed counsels, deliberations, and transactions, are men of great insight, and wisdom, and from whom excellent assistance may be contributed.

No question, all great enterprises and designs, that are to be executed, have many parts, even in the projection, fit for the survey and disquisition of several faculties and abilities, equally for the decision of sharper and more phlegmatic understandings. And we often hear, in debates of great moment, animadversions of more weight and consequence, from those whose ordinary conversation may not be so delightful, than from men of more sublime parts. Certainly Solomon well understood himself, when he said, *In the multitude of counsellors there is safety.* And

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though it be confessed, that reason would be better discovered, and stated, and right conclusions easier made by a few, than by a greater number, yet when the execution depends on many, and the general interpretation so much depends on the success, and the success on the interpretation, we see those counsels usually most prosperous, whereof the considerations and deliberations have been measured by that standard which is most publicly acknowledged and received. He has had but small experience in the managing affairs, who is not able experimentally to name to himself some very good and useful conclusions, which have therefore only miscarried, because they were not communicated to those, who thought they had reason to believe themselves competent parties to the secret. There was seldom ever yet that public-heartedness sunk into the breasts of men, as to be long willing to be left out in those transactions, to the privacy whereof they had a right. And therefore men have been often willing enough, any single advice should miscarry, of whatsoever general concernment, rather than contribute to the fame of some one man, who has thought their approbation not worth the providing for. And though the advantage of secrecy and dispatch seems to favour a small number of counsellors, yet (except in some few cases, which in their own nature are to be both consulted, and acted together, and the full execution whereof may be by a few) I am not sure that the inconveniency will be greater by the necessary delays, occasioned by the number, or even by such a discovery, as may be supposed to proceed from the levity of any of them, than by wanting the approbation and concurrence of those, who will unavoidably know it soon enough to add to, or take from, the success, at least the reputation, of any public business. Much of the negligence and disrespect towards the civil councils proceeded from these unhappy causes. For as all corporations, tribes, and fraternities, suffer most by the malignity of some of their own members; so the jealousy and indisposition of some counsellors contributed much to the



disregard which fell upon the order; and in them, upon the King.

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Among those who were next the King's trust, and to whom he communicated the greatest secrets in his affairs, there were some, who from private, though very good, conditions of life, without such an application to court as usually ushered in those promotions, were ascended to that preferment; and were believed to have an equal interest with any, in their Master's estimation. These were sure to find no more charity from the court, than from the army; and they having had lately so many equals, it was thought no presumption, freely to censure all they did, or spoke; what effect soever such freedom had upon the public policy and transactions. It were to be wished, that persons of the greatest birth, honour, and fortune, would take that care of themselves by education, industry, literature, and a love of virtue, to surpass all other men in knowledge, and all other qualifications, necessary for great actions, as far as they do in quality and titles, that princes, out of them, might always choose men fit for all employments, and high trusts; which would exceedingly advance their service; when the reputation and respect of the person carries somewhat with it, that facilitates the business. And it cannot easily be expressed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight and burden of the envy, which naturally attends upon those promotions, which seem to be *per saltum*, how great straits and difficulties such ministers are forced to wrestle with, and by which the charges, with which they are intrusted, must proportionably suffer, let the integrity and wisdom of the men be what it can be supposed to be. Neither is the patience and dexterity, to carry a man through those straits, easily attained; it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preserve the dignity of the place committed to him, (without which he shall expose himself to a thousand rude attempts, and dishonour the judgment that promoted him, by appearing too mean for such a trust,) and between the

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caution, that his nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly, upon the privilege of his great place; which will expose him to much more contempt than the former; and therefore is, with a more exact guard, to be avoided: the errors of gentleness and civility being much more easily reformed, as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and ostentation.

The best provision that such men can make for their voyage, besides a lasting stock of innocency, and a firm confidence in God Almighty, that he will never suffer that innocency to be utterly oppressed, or notoriously defamed, is, an expectation of those gusts and storms of rumour, detraction, and envy; and a resolution not to be over sensible of all calumnies, unkindness, or injustice; but to believe, that, by being preferred before other men, they have an obligation upon them, to suffer more than other men would do; and that the best way to convince scandals, and misreports, is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deserved them. There is not a more troublesome passion, or that often draws more inconveniences with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjustly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright conscience; when men cannot endure to be spoken ill of, if they have not deserved it: in which distemper, though they should free themselves from the errors, or infirmities, with which they were traduced, they commonly discover others, of which they had never been suspected. In a word, let no honest man, that is once entered into the list, think he can by any skill, or comportment, prevent these conflicts and assaults; or that he can, by any stubborn or impetuous humour, suppress and prevail over them: but let him look upon it as purgatory he is unavoidably to pass through, and depend upon Providence, and time, for a vindication; and by constantly performing all the duties of his place with justice, integrity, and uprightness, give all men cause to believe, he was worthy of the first hour; *bon* which is a triumph very lawfully to be affected.

As these distempers, indispositions, and infirmities of

particular men had a great influence upon the public affairs, and disturbed and weakened the whole frame and fabric of the King's designs; so no particular man was more disquieted by them, than the King himself; who, in his person, as well as in his business, suffered all the vexation of the rude, petulant, and discontented humours of court and army. His Majesty now paid interest for all the benefit and advantage he had received in the beginning of the war, by his gentleness, and princely affability to all men, and by descending somewhat from the forms of Majesty, which he had, in his former life, observed with all punctuality. He vouchsafed then himself to receive any addresses, and overtures for his service, and to hold discourse with all men who brought devotion to him; and he must be now troubled with the complaints, and murmurs, and humours of all; and how frivolous and unreasonable soever the cause was, his Majesty was put both to inform and temper their understandings. No man would receive an answer but from himself, and expected a better from him, than he must have been contented to have received from any body else. Every man magnified the service he had done, and his ability and interest to do greater, and proposed honour and reward equal to both in his own sense. And if he received not an answer to his mind, he grew sullen, complained, "he was neglected," and resolved, or pretended so, "to quit the service, and to travel into some foreign kingdom." He is deceived that believes the ordinary carriage and state of a King to be matters of indifferency, and of no relation to his greatness. They are the outworks, which preserve Majesty itself from approaches and surprisal. We find that the Queen of Sheba was amazed at the meat of Solomon's table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cupbearers, &c. as so great instances of Solomon's wisdom, that *there was no more spirit in her*. And no doubt, what Prince soever inconsiderately departs from those forms, and trappings, and ornaments of his dignity and preeminence, will hardly, at some time, be



BOOK VII. able to preserve the body itself of Majesty, from intrusion, invasion, and violation.

And let no man think, that the King had now no hard task to master these troubles, and that a short and sharp blast of royal severity would easily have dispersed these clouds. The disease was too violent and catching, and the contagion too universal, to be cured by that remedy; neither were the symptoms, or effects, the same in all constitutions. It cannot be imagined, into how many several shapes men's indispositions were put, and how many artifices were used to get honours, offices, preferments, and the waywardness and perverseness, which attended the being disappointed of their own hopes. One man had been named for such a place, that is, himself and his friends had given it out, that he should have it, when, it may be, he was too modest to pretend to it; and upon this vogue he had a title; and if it should be conferred upon another, it would be a mark of the King's disfavour to him; and thereby he should lose the ability, and credit, without which he could do no farther service. Another suggested, that his friends and companions in consort had all received some obligation, and if he alone should remain without some testimony of favour, it would be a brand upon him of some signal unworthiness. No man was so hard hearted to himself, as not to be able to give a reason for any thing he desired; and he commonly had best success, who prosecuted his own wishes with most boldness and importunity; neither was there a better, or another reason for some men's preferment, than that they had set their hearts upon it, and would have it. And it was a great temptation to modest natures, to find forward men had so good fortune, that the want of success begun to be imputed to want of wit.

I remember, about this time, a person of good quality, and of a good name in action, came to me very pensive, and told me, "how conscientiously he had served the King, without any private designs, or other thoughts, than the discharge of his own duty, and rendering the

“ performance of that duty acceptable to his Majesty; yet  
“ that, to his unspeakable discomfort, he found, he had  
“ been misrepresented to the King, and that his Majesty  
“ had entertained a sinister opinion of him, and desired me  
“ to learn what the ground of the prejudice was, and by  
“ my good testimony to endeavour to remove it.” I had  
a very good opinion of the person, and believed the King  
had so, and therefore persuaded him, that the jealousy was  
groundless, and pressed to know, from whence he received  
those impressions; he excused himself in the particular,  
and assured me, “ that he had his advertisement from a  
“ sure hand, which was to be concealed, and not doubted;  
“ that, upon my inquiry, I would find it true, though he  
“ could not imagine the cause.” I promised him, “ I  
“ would press the King very heartily in it, and if there  
“ were any thing that stuck with him, I presumed his  
“ Majesty would be so gracious to let me know it;” and  
accordingly, having shortly after an opportunity to wait on  
his Majesty, I told him the true narrative of what had  
passed, with my observation of the general comportment  
of that gentleman, and besought his Majesty, “ if any ill  
“ offices had been done him, or that any prejudice towards  
“ him was lodged in his royal breast, that he would gra-  
“ ciously vouchsafe to tell me what it was, and that he  
“ would allow him an access, to clear himself from any  
“ imputations.” The King very cheerfully assured me,  
“ that he had not only a very good opinion of that gentle-  
“ man, but that he was most assured, he had no real sus-  
“ picion to the contrary;” and therefore bid me “ proceed  
“ to the other part of my business.” I told him, “ I had  
“ no more, and that I was sure, I should make a very  
“ happy man by satisfying him of what I found.” Then  
said the King, “ You are not thoroughly instructed, for the  
“ other half of this business must be a suit.” I replied,  
“ if that were so, I was yet more ignorant than I sus-  
“ pected myself.” The gentleman shortly after came to  
me, in pain, as I thought, with the jealousy of being in  
umbrage; and when I gave him pregnant assurance to the

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contrary, with the mention of some expressions the King had used, which were indeed very gracious, he seemed to receive it with such a countenance and gusto, that I verily believed he had had his heart's desire. But, the next morning, he came to me again, and told me, "that I had made him abundantly happy, and that he doubted not there was no just ground for the other reports, but only the malice of those who wished them true; yet, that they had lessened his credit abroad, even with his friends; and that he found there was no way to keep up his reputation and interest in the world, whereby he might be able to do the King service, (which was all he looked after,) but the receiving some testimony of the King's good opinion, which would be a public evidence, that the other discourses were false." I was surprised, and as much out of countenance, as he should have been; and advised him "to patience, and to expect the King's own time, and method, rather than to quicken him by any importunity, which would give an ill relish to any obligation." He would not understand that philosophy, but shortly after found some other means to press the King very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him; not without some implication, "that, without some such earnest of his Majesty's goodness, he should not be able to continue in his service;" which probably was one of the modestest addresses, which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied, this way the King's trouble was so great, that he many times suffered more vexation from the indisposition and humours of his own people, than from the enemy, or the apprehension of their counsels: which hath made me enlarge this digression so much; conceiving it no less to be a part of history, and more useful to posterity, to leave a character of the times, than of the persons, or the narrative of the matters of fact, which cannot be so well understood, as by knowing the genius that prevailed when they were transacted.

The best expedient his Majesty could find to dispel



these fumes, was motion and action; and therefore, though the season of the year was too far spent, and too many officers hurt, for the taking the field again, besides that many regiments were returned to their old posts, (as the Welsh to defend their own country from the incursions from Gloucester, and to reduce some towns in Pembrokeshire, which, lying on the sea, by the help of the Parliament ships, begun to fortify and gather strength,) yet he resolved his forces about Oxford should not lie still.

In the beginning of October, Prince Rupert, with a strong party of horse, foot, and dragoons, marched into Bedfordshire, and took the town of Bedford, and in it a party of the enemy, who used it only as a strong quarter. This expedition was principally to countenance Sir Lewis Dives, whilst he fortified Newport Pannel, where he hoped to fix a garrison; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the northern parts, and restrained the commerce between London and their associated counties; which they well understood; and therefore, upon the first news of it, the Earl of Essex removed his head-quarters from Windsor to St. Alban's; and the Trained Bands of London, and their auxiliary regiments, marched again to him for his recruit; upon the advancement whereof, and a mistake of orders from Oxford, Sir Lewis Dives drew off his forces from Newport Pannel; and the enemy presently possessed themselves of it, and made it a very useful garrison. Upon which, Prince Rupert fortified Tossiter, a town in Northamptonshire, and left a strong garrison there; which, though it infested the enemy somewhat, and took great revenge upon those counties, which had expressed a violent affection to the Parliament, in truth, added little strength to the King; for he lost many horse by the labour of duty, the greatest part of the body of his horse being forced to quarter near that place, for the security of the foot, till the works about the town were in such a forwardness, that they needed not fear their neighbours at St. Alban's.

In the mean time, the power of the Parliament was

BOOK VII. least manifest in the West, where their party was reduced to a lowness, and confined within narrow limits after the

The King's  
affairs in  
the West.

taking of Exeter; the gentlemen of that county having been generally well devoted to the King's service, though never able safely to declare it, at least to appear in a posture of opposing the violence of the other party. Prince Maurice found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by levies of money, men, and all offices that could be expected; insomuch as, within very few days after the surrender of that town, his army of foot, by the new levies, contained no fewer than seven thousand men, (which was a body the West had not before seen,) besides a body of horse, at least proportionable to the other; and all in excellent equipage for action. And at the same time, Colonel John Digby was before Plymouth, with above three thousand foot, and six hundred horse, and had taken a work from the enemy of great importance, called Mount Stamford in honour of that Earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the town, and which commanded some part of the river; the loss whereof gave the town a marvellous discouragement.

The first error the Prince committed after the reducing of Exeter, was staying too long there before he advanced, for victorious armies carry great terror with them, whilst the memory and fame of the victory is fresh. The next, that he moved not directly towards Plymouth, when he did move; which, in all probability, would have yielded upon his approach: for the town was full of distraction, and jealousy amongst themselves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an enemy. It was a rich and populous corporation, being, in time of peace, the greatest port for trade in the West; and, except Bristol, then more considerable than all the rest. There was in it a castle very strong towards the sea, with good platforms and ordnance; and little more than musket-shot from the town, was an island with a fort in it, much stronger than the castle; both which were, before the troubles, under the command of a captain, with a garrison of about fifty men at the

most; and were only intended for a security, and defence of the town against a foreign invasion; the castle and the island together having a good command of the entrance into the harbour, but towards the land there was very little strength. This command was in the hands of Sir Jacob Ashley, and as unprovided to expect or resist an enemy, as the other castles and forts of the kingdom; less for the receiving a recruit; their being only ordnance and ammunition, without any other provisions for the support of the soldiers within the walls; and the garrison itself being by time, marriages, and trade, incorporated into the town, and rather citizens than soldiers; so that Sir Jacob Ashley being sent for to the King, before his setting up his standard, as soon as there was any apprehension of a party for the King in Cornwall, after the appearing of Sir Ralph Hopton, and those other gentlemen there, the mayor and corporation of Plymouth quickly got both the castle and island into their own power.

It will be wondered at by many hereafter, that those, and the like places of strength in England, being under the command of persons entirely of his Majesty's nomination, were not put into a good posture of defence, when it grew first evident, that there would be shortly occasion to use them; for according to the old story in Ælian, that when in one of the states of Greece, Micippus's sheep brought forth a lion, it was generally and justly concluded, that that portended a tyranny, and change of the state from a peaceable to a bloody government; so when the two Houses of Parliament first produced a sovereign power, to make, and alter, and suspend laws, before they raised an army, or made a general, or declared war; when that mild and innocent sheep, that legal regular convention of a sober and modest council, had once brought forth that lion which sought whom he might devour, it might be easily and naturally concluded by all wise and sober men, that the blessed calm, and temperate state of government, by which every man eat the fruit of his own vine, was at an end; and rapine, blood, and desolation, to suc-



BOOK VII. ceed; and therefore that those holds should, in reason, have been then provided for.

But I shall say here once for all, that from the time that there was any reasonable jealousy of a war, it was never in the King's power to mend the condition of any of those places; and if he had attempted it, with what caution or secrecy soever, the inconvenience he must have sustained by it, besides the failing of his end, would have been much greater than the advantage which could have accrued, if he had done what he desired. I have very ill described the times we have passed through, if that be not apparent; and that it was rather an error of the former times, that those places needed any supply, than that it was not applied to them in the succeeding.

The Parliament was very glad Plymouth was thus secured; and, as well to put an obligation upon all corporations, by shewing they thought them capable of the greatest trusts, as because they could not, in truth, more reasonably confide in any other, they committed the government thereof to that Mayor; who was well enough instructed, what respect to pay to their committee; which was appointed to reside there for his assistance, and to conduct the affairs in those parts. Of that committee, Sir Alexander Carew was one; a gentleman of a good fortune in Cornwall, who served in Parliament as knight for that county, and had, from the beginning of the Parliament, concurred in all conclusions with the most violent, with as full a testimony of that zeal and fury, to which their confidence was applied, as any man. To him the custody and government of that fort and island, which was looked upon as the security of the town, was committed; and a sufficient garrison put into it. The Mayor commanded the castle and the town, about which a line was cast up of earth, weak and irregular.

After the battle of Stratton, and the King's forces prevailing so far over the West, that Bristol was taken by them, and Exeter closely besieged, Sir Alexander Carew began to think his island and fort would hardly secure his

estate in Cornwall; and understood the law so well (for he had had a good education) to know, that the side he had chosen would be no longer the better, than it should continue the stronger; and having originally followed no other motives, than of popularity and interests, resolved now to redeem his errors; and found means to correspond with some of his old friends and neighbours in Cornwall, and, by them, to make a direct overture to surrender that fort and island to the King, upon an assurance of his Majesty's pardon, and a full remission of his offences. Sir John Berkley, who then lay before Exeter, was the next supreme officer, qualified to entertain such a treaty; and he, instantly, by the same conveyance, returned him as ample assurance of his own conditions as could be; with advice, "that he should not, upon any defect of forms, " (which, upon his engagement, should be supplied with " all possible expedition, to his own satisfaction,) defer " the consummating the work; which hereafter, possibly, " might not be in his power to effect:" designs of that nature being to be consulted and executed together; for in those cases, according to Mutianus in Tacitus, *Qui deliberant, desciverunt*; and the greatest danger attends the not going on. But he was so sottishly and dangerously wary of his own security, (having neither courage enough to obey his conscience, nor wickedness enough to be prosperous against it,) that he would not proceed, till he was sufficiently assured, that his pardon was passed the Great Seal of England; before which time, though all imaginable haste was made, by the treachery of a servant whom he trusted, his treaty and design was discovered to the Mayor, and the rest of the committee; and, according to the diligence used by that party, in cases of such concernment, he was suddenly, and without resistance, surprised in his fort, and carried prisoner into Plymouth: and from thence, by sea, sent to London; where what became of him, will be remembered in its place.

Sir Alexander Carew treats to surrender the fort of Plymouth to the King's forces, but is surprised.

Shortly after this accident, Colonel Digby came before the town; and though the great damage was by this

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means prevented, yet it cannot be imagined, but the people were in great distraction, with the apprehension of the danger they had escaped; and those discoveries bring always that melancholy with them, that men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no man had, to common understanding, better deserved to be trusted, or given less argument for suspicion: and upon such a defection, who could hope to stand free from jealousy? Besides, he could not but have had much familiarity with many in the town, which must subject them to some suspicion, or, at least, make them suspect that they were suspected; and, without doubt, it awakened many to apprehend the immediate hand of God in the judgment, that he would not suffer a man to recover the security and comfort of his allegiance, who had so signally departed from it against the light of his own conscience; and that a man, who had been before precipitate against all reason, should perish by considering too much, when precipitation was only reasonable.

The fame of the winning of Exeter, by which a victorious army was at liberty to visit them, and then the loss of Mount Stamford, which was their only considerable fortification to the land, with those other discomposures, wrought a wonderful consternation amongst them; and made them consider, that if they could hold out, and defend their town, the country being all lost, they must lose all their trade, and so from merchants become only soldiers; which was not the condition they contended for. Insomuch as the Mayor himself was not without a propensity to send for a treaty, upon which the town might be delivered to the King: and it was by many then believed, that if Prince Maurice had then marched from Exeter before it, that treaty would infallibly have ensued. But when I say it was an error that he did not, I intend it rather as a misfortune than a fault; for his Highness was an utter stranger in those parts; and therefore was not, without great appearance of reason, persuaded first to bend his course to Dartmouth; which was looked upon "as an



“ easy work, and a harbour, which, being got, would draw  
 “ a very good trade: and that short work being performed,  
 “ Plymouth would have the less courage to make resist-  
 “ ance; and if it should, it were much fitter for the  
 “ winter, which was now drawing on,” (for it was more  
 “ than the middle of September,) “ than the other, by  
 “ reason of the conveniency of good accommodation for the  
 “ soldiers, near about it; which could not be had about  
 “ Dartmouth.”

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Upon these reasons, he marched directly to Dartmouth, which, how unfit soever to make a defence against such an army, by the disadvantage of situation, and the want of all those helps which use to make a garrison confident, he found in no temper and disposition to yield; so that he sat down before it. And shortly after, there came so  
 Prince Maurice sits down before Dartmouth; and takes it:  
 violent a season of rain, and foul weather, that very many of his men, with lying on the ground, fell sick, and died; and more run away. Yet, after near a month's siege, and the loss of many good men, (whereof the same Colonel Chudleigh, of whom we spoke before, was one, a gallant young gentleman, who received a shot with a musket in the body, of which he died within few days, and was a wonderful loss to the King's service,) it was given up on fair conditions; and then the Prince, having placed a garrison there, under the command of Colonel Seymour, a gentleman of principal account and interest in Devonshire, lost no more time, but, with all convenient expedition, marched to Plymouth; which was not now in the state it had been; for the Parliament, being quickly informed how terrible an impression the loss of almost all other parts of the West had made upon the spirits of that people, had before this time sent a recruit of five hundred men, and a Scotch officer to be Governor; who eased the Mayor of that unequal charge, and quickly made it evident, that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the Prince sat down before it with an army much inferior, after he had joined with Colonel Digby, to that with which he had marched from Exeter to Dartmouth; yet  
 Sits down before Plymouth too late.

BOOK VII. with much confidence to reduce that town, before the winter should be over.

Though the King's success, and good fortune, had met with a check in the relief of Gloucester, and the battle of Newbury, yet his condition seemed mightily improved by the whole summer's service. For whereas he seemed before confined, upon the matter, within Oxfordshire and half Berkshire, (which half was lost too upon the loss of Reading in the Spring,) and the parties, which appeared for him in other counties, seemed rather sufficient to hinder a general union against him, than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion; he was now, upon the matter, master of the whole West; Cornwall was his own without a rival; Plymouth was the only place, in all Devonshire, unreduced; and those forces shut within their own walls: the large rich county of Somerset, with Bristol, entirely his: in Dorsetshire, the enemy had only two little fisher-towns, Poole and Lyme; all the rest was declared for the King. And in every of these counties, he had plenty of harbours and ports, to supply him with ammunition, and the country with trade. In Wiltshire the enemy had not the least footing, and rather a town or two in Hampshire, than any possession of the county; that people being generally undevoted to them: the whole principality of Wales, except a sea town or two in Pembroke-shire, was at his devotion; and that unfortunately obstinate town of Gloucester only kept him from commanding the whole Severn. The Parliament was nothing stronger in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the Marquis of Newcastle had been forced to rise as unfortunately from Hull, as the King had been from Gloucester, yet he had still a full power over Yorkshire, and a greater in Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire, than the Parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now strong enough to make war; the contrary opinion whereof had been one of the greatest reasons that there was no peace. And therefore many believed, that, what appearance soever

there was of obstinacy, the winter would produce some overtures of accommodation; and that all the noise of preparation from Scotland, was only to incline the King to the greater condescensions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent desire of the people, as the best reason for whatsoever they had proposed, and introduced the King with a purpose of bringing foreign forces to awe and impose upon his own subjects, would not now have the hardiness to bring in a stranger nation to invade their country, and to compel that people, by whose affections they would be thought to be guided, to submit to changes they had no mind to receive. And the arrival of the Count of Harcourt, as extraordinary ambassador from the Crown of France, was looked upon as an expedient to usher in some treaty, and to remove those ceremonies, and preliminary propositions, which, by reason of the mutual declarations and protestations against each other, might be thought of greater difficulty, than any real differences between them.

The Conte  
d'Harcourt  
arrives am-  
bassador  
from  
France.

The King himself was not without expectation of notable effects from this embassy; for the state of France seemed to be much altered from what it was at the beginning of these troubles. Cardinal Richelieu, who, the King well knew, had more than fomented the troubles both in England and Scotland, was now dead; and the King of France himself likewise; and those old ministers of state who had been long in the Bastile, or banished, were now set at liberty, and recalled, and in favour; the Queen Mother made Regent; who professed great personal kindness to the Queen of England, and so great a sense of the indignities the King and she suffered, that she seemed sensible, that France had contributed too much to them, and to think, that the interest, as well as honour, of that Crown was concerned to buoy up the monarchy of England; with intimations, "that the King himself should direct what way he would be served by that Crown." The first evidence they gave of meaning as they said, was the revocation of Monsieur la Ferté Senneterre, the am-



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bassador then resident in England; who had contracted a wonderful familiarity with the fiercest managers of the Parliament, and done the King all imaginable disservice; in-somuch as he had industriously persuaded some English priests and Jesuits, to engage those of the Romish persuasion, by no means to assist the King; with a full assurance, "that the Parliament would allow them liberty of conscience." This minister his Majesty desired might be recalled; which was not only suddenly done, but a private intimation likewise given to our Queen, "that she should nominate what person was to be employed in his place; who should wholly guide himself by her instructions:" and her Majesty was led to make choice of Monsieur le Conte d' Harcourt, one of the principal persons of that kingdom, being a Prince of the House of Lorraine, and so allied to the King, and Grand Escuier; and had been their late fortunate General in Catalonia, where he had given the Spaniard the greatest defeat they had received; which was not thought an unseasonable qualification in an ambassador, whose business was to mediate a peace.

His reception at London was with much solemnity, that he might not find there was any absence of ceremony or state, by the absence of the King; yet when he had a safe conduct for Oxford, his carriages were stopped at the going out of London, and his own coach, as well as all other places, searched with great and unusual rudeness, upon suspicion that he carried letters; and though he expostulated the affront, as a high violation of his honour and privilege, he received no manner of reparation, or the officer, that did it, any reprehension; which made many believe that he would have been very keen in the resentment. The King expected that, by this ambassador, the Crown of France would have made a brisk declaration on his Majesty's behalf; and if the Parliament should not return to their regular obedience, that they should have found no correspondence or reception in that kingdom; and that they would really assist his Majesty, in such

a manner as he should propose; which declaration, he thought, would prove of moment with the city of London, in respect of their trade; but more with the Scots, who were understood to have an especial dependence upon France.

When the ambassador returned from his audience at Oxford, where he stayed not many days, he sent a paper to the Earl of Northumberland, by which he desired his Lordship, "to impart to the Messieurs of Parliament, that he had made known to their Majesties, the affectionate desire the King his master, and the Queen his mistress, had to contribute all good offices, in the procuring of peace and tranquillity in this kingdom; to which he found the desires of their Majesties well disposed; and therefore he desired to know, whether his Lordship thought the two Houses did correspond in the same intention: if they did, after they should make him understand the subject that had obliged them to take up arms, he would interpose to pacify the differences, by such expedients, as should be most conformable to the ancient laws and customs of the realm."

After the Earl of Northumberland had informed the House of Peers of this representation, it was, at a conference, imparted to the House of Commons, and an answer was framed by joint agreement, to be returned by the Earl of Northumberland to the ambassador. In the form of it, they gave him the title of *Prince of Harcourt*, and *Grand Escuier of France*; but omitted that of *Extraordinary Ambassador in England*, because it did not appear to the Parliament, by letters of credence, or the sight of his instructions from the King, or Queen Regent of France, that he was by them employed Extraordinary Ambassador into England.

The answer itself was, "that the Lords and Commons in Parliament did, with all due respects, accept of the affectionate desires of the King, and Queen Regent of France, to contribute good offices towards the procuring a happy peace; and that, when the said Monsieur le

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"Prince d'Harcourt should make any such propositions to the Parliament, by authority from their Majesties of France, they would give then such an answer to the same, as might stand with the interest of both kingdoms, and their late solemn League and Covenant." The Lords proposed, "that there might be a committee appointed to treat with the ambassador;" but the Commons would by no means consent to it, "till he should make it manifest, that he had authority from his Master to treat with the Parliament;" and withal they declared, "that if he had, at any time, any thing farther to offer to them, they would not receive it from any particular member of either House; but that he should apply himself by writing, or otherwise, to the Speaker of either or both Houses of Parliament; otherwise, they would hold no correspondence with him." The ground of this resolution was, that they might draw from the ambassador (which they presumed could not be without the privity and approbation of the King) an address, and acknowledgment that they were a Parliament, against the freedom whereof, and consequently the present being, his Majesty had, by his late proclamation, declared. So the ambassador, after a journey or two to Oxford, and some perfunctory addresses to the Houses, returned to France *re infecta*, and without the least expression of dislike, on his Master's behalf, of their proceedings.

Returns  
into France  
without  
any good  
effect to the  
King.

Some were scrupulous in believing that France really intended to repair the mischief it had done; and observed, that though there were some plausible compliances, in point of ceremony, with particular persons, after the death of the former Cardinal; yet, that the main counsels were carried on upon the rules and directions he had left; and that the Cardinal Mazarin, a person who had been of the highest trust with the other, wholly now presided over those counsels; and considered, how much France might imagine it would conduce to their interest, that the King of England should not have all his subjects in perfect obedience, lest he might offer to be an arbiter of their great



differences: I say, these men believed Count Harcourt's instructions privately were no other, than the last ambassador's; whom the King had caused to be recalled. And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealousy, had arguments enough to increase it.

When this extraordinary ambassador was appointed to come for England, Mr. Mountague was in the Court of France, very much trusted by both their Majesties, and by his quality, and near relation to so great a trust, his long conversation in that Court, and a singular dexterity in his nature, adorned with excellent parts, was thought to have a very good place in the favour and particular estimation of the Queen Regent, and in the opinion of the Cardinal; to whom he had been useful. With this gentleman most of the conclusions had been transacted, which were preparatory to the ambassador's journey; and it was thought fit, that he should at the same time come into England; and, in such a disguise, as might easily conceal a man better known in France than in his own country, in the ambassador's train find a safe passage to Oxford; which was carried with so much secrecy, that, besides to the ambassador himself, he was known to very few of his retinue. The Count of Harcourt was not landed four and twenty hours, but in his journey towards London, a messenger from the Parliament apprehended Mr. Mountague, and carried him a prisoner to the Houses; by whom he was committed to the Tower; and though the ambassador made a great shew of resenting it, he never claimed him in such a manner as to procure his enlargement; which made men believe the Cardinal liked well his confinement, and desired not he should be either at Oxford or Paris.

At the ambassador's first coming to Oxford, after general overtures, and declarations of the resolution of that Crown, "to give his Majesty all possible assistance for his reestablishment," he proposed a league offensive and defensive with the King. His Majesty, that knew well such an offer was not to be rejected, lest they should from thence take an occasion to refuse those things he should

BOOK VII. propose, appointed a committee of his council (according to the usual course) to treat with the ambassador, upon all necessary articles, which should attend such a treaty; declaring an inclination to enter into such a league as was proposed; and thereupon desired “a present loan of money, and a supply of a good proportion of arms and ammunition; and likewise that the Crown of France would declare against the subjects of England and Scotland, who should persist in rebellion; according to an article ratified in the last treaty now in force.”

The ambassador, who, it seems, expected that there should have been more pauses in the overture of the league offensive and defensive, for the present declined the treating with the committee; alleging, “that he was, upon the matter, a minister of both their Majesties; and was to receive command from them, and wholly to attend their service; and therefore that he desired wholly to communicate with their Majesties themselves:” and shortly after waved any farther mention of the league, with an affected compliment, “that it would not appear a generous thing, to press the King to any act in this his distress, which he had made scruple of consenting to heretofore, when the fortune of both Crowns were equally prosperous: but that his Master and Mistress would frankly contribute all that could be reasonably expected from them, towards his Majesty’s restoration and establishment; and afterwards expect such a return of affection from his Majesty, as the greatness of the obligation should merit in his princely estimation.” And at the same time, the Queen Regent and Cardinal positively denied to the Lord Goring, ambassador extraordinary then from his Majesty in France, that ever the Count of Harcourt had any instruction to mention a league offensive and defensive. These particular carriages, and his not representing the indignities offered to him by the Parliament, made many men believe, that this ambassador, notwithstanding all the specious professions, was sent rather to foment, than extinguish, the fire that was kindled. Certain

it is, during his stay in England, he did not, in the least degree, advance the King's service; and, at his return, left the Parliament more united amongst themselves against the King, and the Scots more advanced towards their coming in, than he found them; there being at the same time likewise a French agent in Scotland; who produced no alteration in the affections of that people, to the King's advantage.

The return of the three earls, formerly mentioned, to London in the winter, who so solemnly applied themselves to the King in the spring, contributed exceedingly to the union of the two Houses at Westminster. The other two stayed longer; and retired with much more decency, if not with a tacit permission. But the Earl of Holland, when he saw his place in the Bedchamber conferred upon the Marquis of Hertford, in much discontent, found an opportunity, which was not difficult, to remove out of the King's quarters; and before he was missed at Oxford, intelligence was brought that he had rendered himself to the Parliament at London; and to make his return the more conscientious, he declared, as hath been said, "that the ground of his deserting them formerly, and going to the King, was a hope to incline his Majesty to a treaty of peace; but that he found he was mistaken in the temper of the Oxford councils; and that the King had still about him some counsellors, who would never consent to a safe and well-grounded peace; and that he heard they had persuaded the King to make a cessation with the rebels in Ireland; which affected his conscience so much, that, though he had been sure to have lost his life by it, he would return to the Parliament;" professing exemplary fidelity to them, if they would again receive him into their favour.

It may be, his discourse of Ireland, or the King's averseness to peace, wrought upon very few; but the evidence of the King's aversion so far to forgive and forget former trespasses, as to receive them into favour and trust again, made a deep impression upon many. For it is undoubt-



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edly true, that many of the principal and governing members of both Houses, that is, of them who had governed, and done as much mischief as any, either out of apprehension that the King would prevail, or that they should not prevail soon enough, or the animosity against those who had outgrown their government, and followed new leaders of their own, and to other ends than had been originally proposed, or out of some motions of conscience, were quite weary of the Parliament, and desirous to obtain a fair admission to the King; and looked only upon the footing which those doves, which went first out of the ark, should find; and surely, if that expedient had been dexterously managed, it had been the most probable way to have drawn the Parliament into such contempt, that it must have fallen of itself: a way, that in no civil war, which is arrived to any vigour and power of contending, ought to be declined. For a body, that is not formed by policy, with any avowed and fixed principles of government, but by the distempered affections, ambition, and discontent of particular persons, who rather agree against a common adversary, than are united to one just interest, cannot so easily be dissolved, as by treating with particular persons, and rending those branches from the trunk, whose beauty and advantage consists only in the spreading.

The reasons were unanswerable, which the old consul Fabius in Livy, lib. 24. gave, in the case of Cassius Albinus, who, after the defeat of Cannæ, deserted the Romans, and fled to Hannibal, by which he got the city of Arpos; and when the condition of the Romans was again recovered and flourishing, came again to the Roman army, and offered to betray that city into their hands. Many were of opinion, “that he should be looked upon as a common enemy; and bound, and sent to Hannibal, as a perfidious person, who knew neither how to be a friend, nor an enemy.” Fabius reprehended the unseasonable severity of those who considered, and judged *in medio ardore belli, tanquam in pace libera*, and told them, “that their principal care must be, that none of their friends

“and allies might forsake them; the next, that they who had forsaken them, might return again into their obedience and protection: for, *si abire a Romanis liceat*, *re-dire ad eos non liceat*, it could not be, but the state of Rome, from which, in the late misfortunes, many had revolted, must become very desperate.”

Such was the King's condition, the number of the guilty being so much superior to the innocent, that the latter could reasonably expect only to be preserved by the conversion and reduction of the former. Neither did the King not foresee, or abhor this expedient; but the temper and spirit of the time was so averse from the stratagem, that it was evident his present loss would be as great, by practising it, as his future advantage was like to improve by it. Whatsoever damage his Majesty sustained, that unfortunate Earl received no acknowledgment, or encouragement from the other party, who had the benefit of his return; but as his estate was sequestered as soon as he left them, so he was now committed to prison, and that sequestration continued; neither was it, in a long time after, taken off, nor himself ever after admitted to his place in their council, notwithstanding all the intercession of very powerful friends, or to any reputation of doing farther good or hurt.

Certainly, there must be thought to be some extraordinary dislike, in the very primary law of nature, of such tergiversation and inconstancy; since we scarce find, in any story, a deserter of a trust or party, he once adhered to, to be long prosperous, or in any eminent estimation with those to whom he resorts; though, in the change, there may appear evident arguments of reason and justice; neither hath it been in the power or prerogative of any authority, to preserve such men from the reproach, and jealousy, and scandal, that naturally attends upon any defection: *I have not found evil in thee, since the day of thy coming unto me, unto this day; nevertheless, the Lords favour thee not*, was the profession of King Achish, when he dismissed David himself from marching with the army of

1 Sam.  
xxix. 6.

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the Philistines; and that expostulation of those Lords, *wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his master? should it not be with the heads of these men?* will be always an argument to raise a distrust of those who have eminently quitted their party: and the judgment of Fabius himself, which we touched before, of Cassius Altinius, was not much in their favour; for though he reprehended the proposition of sending him to Hannibal, yet he concluded, “that he would have no trust reposed in him, but that he “should be kept in safe custody, with liberty to do any “thing but go away, till the war was ended; *tum consul- “tandum, utrum defectio prior plus merita sit pœnæ, an hic “reditus veniæ.*” As it falls out thus in civil affairs, and the breach of moral obligations, so it happens in spiritual defections, and alterations in religion: for as, among the Jews, the proselytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, “that no proselyte should be eligible into the court of “their Sanhedrim;” and in their very conversation, they had a caution of them: *Vel ad decimam usque generationem a Proselytis cave*, was an aphorism amongst them. And our own observation and experience can give us few examples of men who have changed their religion, and not fallen into jealousy and distrust, or disreputation, even with those with whom they side; that have made their future life less pleasant and delightful; which, it may be, happens only because we have rare instances of men of extraordinary parts, or great minds, who have entertained those conversions.

The Lords and Commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongst them, than who should most advance the power which was to suppress the King’s: new and stricter orders were made for the general taking the Covenant; and an ordinance, “that no man should be “in any office or trust in their armies, or the kingdom, or “of the Common Council of London, or should have a “voice in the election of those officers, but such who had “taken the Covenant; nor even they who had taken the



“Covenant, if they had been formerly imprisoned, or sequestered for suspicion of malignancy, or adhering to the King.” And that they might as well provide for their sovereign jurisdiction in civil matters, as their security in martial, they again resumed the consideration of the Great Seal of England. The Commons had often pressed the House of Peers to concur with them, “in the making a new Great Seal; as the proper remedy against the mischiefs, which, by the absence of it, had befallen the commonwealth;” declaring, “that the Great Seal of England, of right, ought to attend upon the Parliament;” in which the Peers as often refused to join with them, being startled at the statute of the 25th of Edward III. by which, the counterfeiting the Great Seal of England is, in express terms, declared to be high treason; and it had been in all times before understood to be the sole property of the King, and not of the kingdom, and absolutely in the King’s own disposal, where it should be kept, or where it should attend.

This dissent of the Lords hindered not the business; the Commons frankly voted, “that a Seal should be provided,” and accordingly took order that one was engraved, and brought into their House, according to the same size and effigies, and nothing differing from that which the King used at Oxford. Being in this readiness, and observing the Lords to be less scrupulous than they had been, about the middle of November they sent again to them, to let them know, “they had a Great Seal ready, which should be put into the custody of such persons as the two Houses should appoint; and if they would name some Peers, a proportionable number of the other body should join in the executing that trust.” All objections were now passed over, and without any hesitation their Lordships not only concurred with them to have a Seal in their own disposal, but in a declaration and ordinance; by which they declared, “all letters patents, and grants made by the King, and passed the Great Seal of England, after the 22d of May in the year 1642, (which

The Commons vote a new Broad Seal: the Lords concurred with them.

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“ was the day the Lord Keeper left the House, and went  
 “ with the Great Seal to York to the King,) to be invalid,  
 “ and void in law; and henceforward, that their own  
 “ Great Seal should be of the like force, power, and va-  
 “ lidity, to all intents and purposes, as any Great Seal of  
 “ England had been, or ought to be; and that whosoever,  
 “ after publication of that ordinance, should pass any  
 “ thing under any other Great Seal, or should claim any  
 “ thing thereby, should be held and adjudged a public  
 “ enemy to the state.”

At the same time, the Earls of Rutland and Bullingbrook, of the Peers, Mr. Saint-John, (whom they still entitled the King's Solicitor General, though his Majesty had revoked his patent, and conferred that office upon Sir Thomas Gardner; who had served him faithfully, and been put out of his Recorder's place of London, for having so done,) Serjeant Wild, (who, being a Serjeant at Law, had with most confidence averred their legal power to make a seal,) Mr. Brown, and Mr. Prideaux, two private practisers of the law, were nominated “ to have the keeping,  
 “ ordering, and disposing of it, and all such, and the like  
 “ power and authority, as any Lord Chancellor, or Lord  
 “ Keeper, or Commissioner of the Great Seal, for the time  
 “ being, had had, used, or ought to have.” The Earl of Rutland was so modest, as to think himself not sufficiently qualified for such a trust; and therefore excused himself in point of conscience: whereupon they nominated, in his room, the Earl of Kent, a man of far meaner parts, who readily accepted the place.

The Seal then was delivered, in the House of Commons, to their Speaker; and by him, with much solemnity, the House attending him, to the Speaker of the Peers, at the bar in that House. The six Commissioners were then, in the presence of both Houses, solemnly sworn “ to execute  
 “ the office of Keepers of the Great Seal of England, in all  
 “ things according to the orders and directions of both  
 “ Houses of Parliament.” And thereupon the Seal was delivered by the two Speakers to them, who carried it, ac-

cording to order, to the house of the Clerk of the Parliament, in the old Palace; where it was kept locked up in a chest; which could not be opened but in the presence of three of them, and with three several keys. This work being over, they appointed, for the first exercise of this kind of sovereignty, a patent to be sealed to the Earl of Warwick, of Lord High Admiral of England; which was done accordingly; by which many concluded, that the Earl of Northumberland, who had been put out of that great office for their sakes, was not restored to their full confidence; others, that he desired not to wear their livery.

About the same time, to shew that they would be absolute, and not joint sharers in the sovereign power, they gave an instance of boldness mingled with cruelty, that made them appear very terrible. The King had published several proclamations, for the adjournment of the term from London to Oxford, which had been hitherto fruitless, for want of the necessary legal form of having the writs read in court; so that the Judges at Oxford, who were ready to perform their duty, could not regularly keep the courts there; which else they would have done, notwithstanding the order and declarations published by the two Houses to the contrary; they who were learned in the law believing that assumption to be unquestionably out of their jurisdiction. These writs of adjournment had never yet been delivered seasonably, to be read in court, or into the hands of either of the sworn Judges, who yet attended at Westminster; of which there were three in number, Justice Bacon in the King's Bench, Justice Reeve in the Common Pleas, and Baron Trevor in the Exchequer; who, how timorous soever, and apprehensive of the power and severity of the Parliament, knowing the law and their duties, men believed, would not have barefaced declined the execution of those commands they were sworn to observe. Several messengers were therefore sent from Oxford with those writs; and appointed, on or before such a day, (for that circumstance was penal,) "to find an op-



**BOOK VII.** “portunity to deliver the writs into the hands of the several Judges.” Two of them performed their charges, and delivered the writs to Justice Reeve, and Baron Trevor; who immediately caused the messengers to be apprehended.

The Houses, being informed of it, gave direction, “that they should be tried by a council of war, as spies;” which was done at Essex-house. The messengers alleged, “that they were sworn servants to his Majesty for the transaction of those services, for which they were now accused; and that they had been legally punishable, if they had refused to do their duties; the term being to be adjourned by no other way.” Notwithstanding all which, they were both condemned to be hanged as spies; and that such a sentence might not be thought to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor men were, within few days after, carried to the old Exchange, where a gallows was purposely set up; and there one of them, one Daniel Kniveton, was without mercy executed; dying with another kind of courage than could be expected from a man of such condition and education, did not the conscience of being innocent beget a marvellous satisfaction in any condition. The other, after he had stood some time upon, or under the gallows, looking for the same conclusion, was reprieved, and sent to Bridewell; where he was kept long after, till he made an escape, and returned again to Oxford. This example begot great terror in all the well affected about London, and so much the more, because, about the same time, an ordinance was made, “that whosoever went to Oxford, or into any of the King’s quarters, without leave from one of the Houses, or a pass from their General, or whosoever had any correspondence with any person in the King’s quarters, by writing letters, or receiving letters from thence, should be proceeded against as a person disaffected to the state; and his person committed, and his estate sequestered; and should be liable, according to the circumstances, (of which themselves would be only judges,) to be tried as spies.”

As this made them exceeding terrible to those who loved them not, so, about the same time, they gave another instance of severity, which rendered their government no less revered amongst their friends and associates. The brave defence of Gloucester, and the great success that attended it, made the loss of Bristol the more felt by the Parliament; and consequently the delivery, and yielding it up, the more liberally spoken of, and censured. The which Colonel Fiennes having not patience to bear, he desired, being a member of the House of Commons, and of a swaying interest there, "that he might be put to give an account of it, at a court of war, which was the proper judicature upon trespasses of that nature." And in the mean time, he was powerful enough, upon some collateral and circumstantial passages, to procure some of the chief who inveighed against him, to be imprisoned and reprehended. This begot greater passion and animosity in the persons, that thought they suffered unjustly, and only by the authority and interest of the Colonel and his father; which, by degrees, brought faction into the House of Commons, and the army, according to the several affections and tempers of men.

There were but two prosecutors appeared, one Mr. Walker, a gentleman of Somersetshire, of a good fortune, and, by the loss of that, the more provoked; who had been in the town when it was lost, and had strictly observed all that was done, or said; and the famous Mr. Pryn, who had at first let himself into the disquisition of that business, out of the activity and restlessness of his nature, and was afterwards sharpened by contempt. These two, under pretence of zeal to the kingdom, and that such an irreparable damage to it might not pass away without due punishment, undertook the prosecution; and boldly charged the Colonel with cowardice and treachery; and gave several instances of great and high professions, and performances faint, and not answerable; with some mixtures of pride, and love of money, throughout the course of his government. Colonel Fiennes, besides the credit

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Colonel Fiennes tried for surrendering Bristol, and condemned; but pardoned by the General.

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and reputation of his father, had a very good stock of estimation in the House of Commons upon his own score; for truly he had very good parts of learning and nature, and was privy to, and a great manager in, the most secret designs from the beginning; and if he had not incumbered himself with command in the army, to which men thought his nature not so well disposed, he had sure been second to none in those councils, after Mr. Hambden's death. This made him too much despise those who appeared his adversaries, and others whom he knew to be such, though they appeared not, (for he looked upon Sir William Waller as an enemy, who, by his misfortune at Roundway-Down, having brought that storm upon Bristol, was industrious to make the second loss to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of courage and conduct,) and being sure, that he was very free from wishing well to the King, he thought no defect would be farther imputed to him, than might well be answered by the having done his best; and that the eminency of his perfect zeal against his Majesty, would weigh down all objections of disservice to the Parliament.

But notwithstanding all this, after a long and solemn hearing before the court of war, at St. Alban's, where the Earl of Essex then lay, which took up many days, he was condemned to lose his head, "for not having defended Bristol so well, and so long, as he ought to have done." And though he had afterwards a pardon for his life, granted to him by the prerogative of the General, under his hand and seal, yet the infamy of the judgment could not be taken off; by which he became unfit to continue an officer of the army; and the shame of it persuaded him to quit the kingdom; so that he went for some time into foreign parts, retaining still the same full disaffection to the government of the Church and State, and only grieved that he had a less capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this example as a foundation of great awe and reverence in the army, that the officers might see, that no titles or relations should be able to break through the strict



discipline of war. For this gentleman was a person of singular merit, and fidelity to the party that he served, and of extraordinary use to them in those counsels that required the best understandings. Others thought it an act of unadvised severity, to expose so eminent a person, who knew all their intrigues, upon the importunity of useless and inconsiderable persons, to infamy; whilst others considered it as a judgment of Heaven upon a man who had been so forward in promoting the public calamities: and no doubt, it increased much the factions and animosities, both in the Parliament and the army; and might have done them farther mischief, if it had not fallen on a man so thoroughly engaged, that no provocations could make him less of their party, or less concerned in their confederacy.

At this time, nothing troubled the King so much, as the intelligence he received from Scotland, that they had already formed their army, and resolved to enter England in the winter season. All his confidence, which he had founded there upon the faith and most solemn professions of particular men, without whom the nation could not have been corrupted, had deceived him to a man; and he found the same men most engaged against him, who had, with most solemnity, vowed all obedience to him. The circumstance of the time made the danger of the invasion the more formidable; for the Earl of Newcastle, lately created a Marquis, had been compelled with his army, as much by the murmurs and indisposition of the officers, as by the season of the year, to quit his design upon Hull, and to retire to York; and the garrison of Hull had made many strong infalls into the country, and defeated some of his troops; so that the Scots were like to find a strong party in that large county. However, the Marquis sent a good body of horse towards the borders, to wait their motion; and no sooner heard of their march, which begun in January, in a great frost and snow, than himself marched into the bishopric of Durham to attend them. The particulars of all that affair, and the whole transaction of the

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The Scots  
enter Eng-  
land in Jan.  
1643.

BOOK VII. northern parts, where the writer of this History was never present, nor had any part in those counsels, are fit for a relation apart; which a more proper person will employ himself in.

A Letter from the Peers on the King's side to the Council in Scotland.

In these straits, the King considered two expedients which were proposed to him, and which his Majesty directed should be both consulted in the council. The one was, "that all the Peers who were then in Oxford, or in the King's service, might subscribe a letter to the Council of State in Scotland; whereby it would appear, by the subscription, that above five parts of six of the whole Nobility, and House of Peers, were in the King's service, and disavowed all those actions which were done against him, by the pretended authority of the two Houses; which possibly might make some impression upon the nation of Scotland, though it was well enough known before to their seducers." A letter was prepared accordingly, expressing "the foulness of the rebellion in England, under the reputation of the Houses of Parliament, and the carrying on the same, when they had driven away, by force, much the major part of the members of both Houses, and expressly against all the laws of the land:" it put them in mind of "their obligation to the King," and pathetically concluded "with conjuring them to desist from their unjust and unwarrantable purpose; since they could have no excuse for prosecuting the same, from the authority of Parliament." The letter was perused, and debated in the Council, and afterwards in the presence of all the Peers; and being generally approved without any dissenting voice, it was ordered to be engrossed, and signed by all those Peers, and Privy Counsellors, who were then in Oxford, and to be sent to those who were absent in any of the armies, or in the King's quarters, and to be then sent to the Marquis of Newcastle; who, after he had signed it, with those Peers who were in those parts, was to transmit it into Scotland by a trumpet; all which was done accordingly.

Of all the Peers who followed the King, there was only

one who refused to sign this letter, the Earl of Leicester; who, after many pauses and delays, whether he had not yet digested his late deposal from the Lieutenancy of Ireland, to which the Marquis of Ormond was deputed, and thought the disobligation of it not capable of a reparation, or whether he thought the King's fortune desperate, and resolved not to sacrifice himself to any popular displeasure, and not to provoke the Parliament farther than by not concurring with them; or whether he had it then in his purpose to be found in their quarters, as shortly after he was, did in the end positively refuse to subscribe the letter; and thereby was the occasion of a mischief he did not intend. For both their Majesties, in their secret purpose, had designed him to succeed the Marquis of Hertford in the government of the Prince; for which he would have been very proper; but upon this so affected a discovery of a nature, and mind, liable to no kind of compliance, the King could not prosecute his purpose; and so the government of that hopeful and excellent Prince was committed to the Earl of Berkshire, for no other reason but because he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troublesome: a man of any who bore the name of a gentleman, the most unfit for that province, or any other that required any proportion of wisdom and understanding for the discharge of it.

But it was the unhappy distemper of the Court at that time, to think that it was no matter who was employed in that office; for the King nor Queen were not at all deceived, nor was the Earl less fit than they thought him to be; but they thought his want of parts (his fidelity there was no cause to suspect) to be of little importance: and a Counsellor, much trusted, speaking at that time with the Lord Jermyn, "how astonishing a thing it was to all the nation, "to see the Prince committed to such a governor," he smiled, according to his custom, when he could not answer; and said, "it was of no moment, who had the name "and style of governor, since the King and Queen meant "to be his governor, and firmly resolved that he should



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“ never be out of their presence, or of one of them :” when, within little more than a year after, the King found it necessary to sever the Prince from himself, and lived not to see him again : and his Majesty then found, and lamented, that he had deputed such a governor over him.

The other expedient proposed was, “ that since the whole kingdom was misled by the reverence they had to Parliaments, and believed that the laws and liberties of the people could not be otherwise preserved, than by their sole authority, and that it appeared to be to no purpose to persuade men that what they did was against law, when they were persuaded that their very doing it made it lawful, it would be therefore necessary, and could be only effectual to convince them, that they who did those monstrous things were not the Parliament, but a handful of desperate persons, who, by the help of the tumults raised in the city of London, had driven away the major part of the Parliament, and called themselves the Parliament, whilst they were, in truth, much the less, and the least considerable part of it ; which would appear manifestly, if the King would issue out a proclamation, to require all the members who had left the Parliament at Westminster, to repair to Oxford by such a day ; where his Majesty would be willing to advise with them in matters of the greatest importance, concerning the peace, and distractions of the kingdom : by this means he might, in many things, serve himself by their assistance, and it would evidently appear by the number of both Houses, whose names would be quickly known and published, how few remained at Westminster, who carried on the devouring war, so grievous to the whole kingdom.”

The King was at first in some apprehension, that such a conflux of persons together of the Parliament, who would look to enjoy the privileges of it in their debates, might, instead of doing him service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon some treaty of peace, which would

have no effect; yet, whilst it was in suspense, would hinder his preparation for the war; and though nobody more desired peace, yet he had no mind that a multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greatest importance, as the giving up persons, and other particulars of honour, would not seem to them of moment enough to continue a war in the kingdom; which would have been true, if, as hath been said before, the governors of the Parliament had not themselves been too fearful of a peace, to trust any to make politic propositions, which, upon refusal, might have done good, but being consented to had undone them, and frustrated all their designs.

The Council seemed much inclined to the expedient, and many conveniences were in view; and it might be reasonably hoped, and presumed, “that persons, who had  
“that duty to obey his Majesty’s summons, in coming  
“thither, which would be none but such as had already  
“absented themselves from Westminster, and thereby incensed those who remained there, would not bring ill  
“and troublesome humours with them, to disturb that  
“service which could only preserve them: but, on the  
“contrary, would unite, and conspire together, to make  
“the King superior to his and their enemies. And as to  
“the advancing any propositions of peace, which there  
“could be no doubt but they would be inclined to, nor  
“would it be fit for his Majesty to oppose, there could be  
“no inconvenience; since their appearing in it would but  
“draw reproach from those at Westminster, who would  
“never give them any answer, or look upon them under  
“any notion, but as private persons, and deserters of the  
“Parliament, without any qualification to treat, or to be  
“treated with: which would more provoke those at Oxford, and, by degrees, stir up more animosities between  
“them.” The King discovered more of hope than fear from such a convention; and so, with a very unanimous consent and approbation, a proclamation was issued out, containing the true grounds and motives, and mentioning

The King’s  
Proclamation  
for as-

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sembling  
the mem-  
bers of Par-  
liament at  
Oxford.

the league of Scotland to invade the kingdom; which was the most universally odious and detestable; and summoned all the members of both Houses of Parliament, except only such as, having command in his Majesty's armies in the North, and in the West, could not be dispensed with, to be absent from their charges, to attend upon his Majesty in Oxford, upon a day fixed in January next.

The King was not all this while without a due sense of the dangers that threatened him in the growth and improvement of the power and strength of the enemy, and how impossible it would be for him, without some more extraordinary assistance, to resist that torrent, which, he foresaw, by the next spring, would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not provision accordingly. And finding, by degrees, that it was not in his power to compose the disturbances of England, or to prevent those of Scotland, and abhorring the thought of introducing a foreign nation to subdue his own subjects, he begun to think of expedients which might allay the distempers in Ireland; that so, having one of his kingdoms in peace, he might apply the power of that, towards the procuring it in his other dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an argument that business of Ireland was, and how prepared men were to pervert whatsoever he said or did in it; and therefore he resolved to proceed with that caution, that whatsoever was done in it should be by the counsel of that state, who were understood to be most skilful in those affairs.

The Lords Justices, and Council, had sent a short petition to his Majesty, which was presented to them, in the name of his Catholic subjects, then in arms against him; by which they only desired, with full expressions of duty and submission to his Majesty, "that he would appoint some persons to hear what they could say for themselves; and to present the same to his Majesty." Hereupon the King authorized by his commission the Lord Marquis of Ormond, and some others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the least authority to



conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this commission, the Marquis, finding that this petition was prosecuted with less ingenuity than it seemed to have been presented, was so far from being indulgent to them under that notion, that he even then advanced against them with his army, and gave them a very signal defeat; which reformed their application, and made it more submiss.

In the mean time (though in all actions and counsels, the Lords Justices, and Council there, had yielded punctual obedience to all directions from the Parliament) the affairs of that kingdom suffered exceedingly for want of provisions, money, and ammunition, out of England; which the two Houses of Parliament were obliged, and were, to that purpose, enabled by his Majesty to send. Insomuch as that Board, by their letters of the fourth of April, this present year, advertised the Speaker of the House of Commons, “ that they had been compelled, for the preservation of  
“ the army, to take money from all who had it, and to  
“ wrest their commodities from the poor merchants, whom  
“ they had now, by the law of necessity, utterly undone,  
“ and disabled from being hereafter helpful to them, in  
“ bringing them in victuals, or other needful commodities:  
“ and that there were few of themselves, or others, that  
“ had not felt their parts in the enforced rigour of their  
“ proceedings, so as, what with such hard dealing, no less  
“ grievous to them to do, than it was heavy to others to  
“ suffer, and by their descending, against their hearts, far  
“ below the honour and dignity of that power they represented under his Royal Majesty, they had, with unspeakable difficulties, prevailed so as to be able to find  
“ bread for the soldiers for the space of one month: that  
“ they were then expelling thence all strangers, and must  
“ instantly send away for England thousands of poor despoiled English, whose very eating was now insupportable to that place; and therefore, they said, they did  
“ again earnestly and finally desire (for their confusions  
“ would not now admit the writing of many more letters,

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“ if any) some supplies of victual and munition might, in  
 “ present, be hastened thither to keep life, until the rest  
 “ might follow; there being no victuals in store; nor  
 “ one hundred barrels of powder; which, according to  
 “ the usual necessary expences, besides extraordinary ac-  
 “ cidents, would not last above a month.”

A copy of this letter they likewise sent to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that his Majesty might be informed of the sadness of their condition, and, with it, a copy of a paper that morning presented to the Board (which was likewise sent in their letter to the Speaker) from the officers of the army; who, after sharp expressions of the miseries they sustained, and expostulations thereupon, concluded, “ that  
 “ if their Lordships would take them into their timely considerations, before their urgent wants made them desperate, they would serve them readily and faithfully;  
 “ but if their Lordships would not find a way for their preservations there, they humbly desired they might  
 “ have leave to go where they might have a better being;  
 “ and if they refused to grant that, they themselves must  
 “ then take leave to have recourse to that first and primary  
 “ law, which God had endued all men with, the law of  
 “ nature, which taught all men to preserve themselves.”

The King was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of this advertisement; apprehending the state of his Protestant subjects in that kingdom to be almost desperate, the rebels receiving daily encouragement and assistance from foreign parts; and thereupon growing strong and bold; yet he forbore to interpose his own sovereign power, hoping this last clear representation would have made so deep an impression in the two Houses of Parliament, that they would have sent such a full supply, that at least the rebels might make no farther progress in victory, against his Protestant subjects. About the end of May, the Lords Justices and Council, having received no probable hope of assistance from the Parliament, sent an address immediately to his Majesty, that himself might conclude, in that exigent, what was to be done for preservation of one

of his three kingdoms. This letter, subscribed by the Lords Justices, and every member of the Council-Board, being the ground and foundation of the resolutions which his Majesty afterwards took, I think necessary to insert in the terms of which it consisted; which were these:

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“ May it please your most excellent Majesty :

“ As soon as we your Majesty’s Justices entered into the charge of this government, we took into our considerations, at the Board, the state of your army here; which we find suffering under unspeakable extremity of want of all things necessary to the support of their persons, or maintenance of the war, here being no victuals, clothes, or other provisions requisite towards their sustenance; no money to provide them of any thing they want; no arms in your Majesty’s stores to supply their many defective arms; not above forty barrels of powder in your stores; no strength of serviceable horses being now left here; and those few that are, their arms for the most part lost, or unserviceable; no ships arrived here to guard the coast, and consequently no security rendered to any that might, on their private adventures, bring in provisions of victuals, or other necessaries towards our subsistence; and, finally, no visible means, by sea or land, of being able to preserve for you this kingdom, and to render deliverance from utter destruction to the remnant of your good subjects yet left here.

An Address  
of the  
Lords Jus-  
tices and  
the Council  
in Ireland  
to the King.

“ We find, that your Majesty’s late Justices, and this Board, have often, and fully, by very many letters, advertised the Parliament in England of the extremities of affairs here, and besought relief with all possible importunity; which also have been fully represented to your Majesty, and to the Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, to be made known to your Majesty: and although the winds have of late for many days, and often formerly, stood very fair for accessions of supply forth of England hither, and that we have still, with longing expectations, hoped to find provisions arrive here, in some



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“ degree answerable to the necessities of your affairs; yet  
“ now, to our unspeakable grief, after full six months  
“ waiting, and much longer patience, and long suffering,  
“ we find all our great expectations answered in a mean  
“ and inconsiderable quantity of provisions, viz. threescore  
“ and fifteen barrels of butter, and fourteen ton of cheese;  
“ being but the fourth part of a small vessel’s lading,  
“ which was sent from London, and arrived here the fifth  
“ day of this month, which is not above seven or eight  
“ days’ provision, for that part of the army which lies in  
“ Dublin, and the out-garrisons thereof; no money or  
“ victual (other than that inconsiderable proportion of  
“ victual) having arrived in this place, as sent from the  
“ Parliament of England, or from any other fort of Eng-  
“ land, for the use of the army, since the beginning of  
“ November last.

“ We have, by the blessing of God, been hitherto pro-  
“ sperous and successful in your Majesty’s affairs here, and  
“ should be still hopeful, by the mercy of God, under the  
“ royal directions of your sacred Majesty, to vindicate your  
“ Majesty’s honour, to recover your rights here, and take  
“ due vengeance on those traitors, for the innocent blood  
“ they have spilled, if we might be strengthened, and sup-  
“ ported therein, by needful supplies forth of England;  
“ but these supplies having been hitherto expected to  
“ come from the Parliament of England, (on which if your  
“ Majesty had not relied, we are assured you would, in  
“ your high wisdom, have found out some other means to  
“ preserve this your kingdom,) and so great and apparent  
“ a failure having happened therein, and all the former,  
“ and late, long continuing easterly winds, bringing us no  
“ other provisions than those few cheeses and butter, and  
“ no advertisements being brought us of any future supply  
“ to be so much as in the way hither, whereby there might  
“ be any likelihood that considerable means of support for  
“ your Majesty’s army might arrive here, in any reasonable  
“ time, before we be totally swallowed up by the rebels,  
“ and your kingdom by them wrested from you: we find

“ ourselves so disappointed of our hopes from the Parlia-  
 “ ment, as must needs trench to the utter loss of the king-  
 “ dom, if your Majesty, in your high wisdom, ordain not  
 “ some present means of preservation for us. And con-  
 “ sidering that if now, by occasion of that unhappy and  
 “ unexpected failing of support from thence, we shall be  
 “ less successful in your services here against the rebels,  
 “ than hitherto, whilst we were enabled with some means  
 “ to serve you, we have been, the shame and dishonour  
 “ may, in common construction of those that know not  
 “ the inwards of the cause, be imputed to us, and not to  
 “ the failings that disabled us: and considering prin-  
 “ cipally, and above all things, the high and eminent trust  
 “ of your affairs here, deposited with us by your sacred  
 “ Majesty, we may not forbear, in discharge of our duty,  
 “ thus freely and plainly to declare our humble appre-  
 “ hensions, to the end your Majesty, thus truly under-  
 “ standing the terribleness of our condition, may find out  
 “ some such means of support, to preserve to your Ma-  
 “ jesty and your royal posterity this your ancient and  
 “ rightful crown and kingdom; and derive deliverance and  
 “ safety to the remnant of your good subjects yet left here,  
 “ as in your excellent judgment you shall find to be most  
 “ for your honour and advantage. And so praying the  
 “ King of kings to guide and direct you for the best, in  
 “ this high and important cause, and in all other your  
 “ counsels and actions, we humbly remain:

*From your Majesty's Castle of Dublin,*  
*the 11th of May, 1643.*

There was no sober man in Ireland or England, who be-  
 lieved it to be in the King's power to enable this people to  
 carry on the war; for all men too well knew, that he had  
 neither money, victual, ammunition, or shipping, to supply  
 them: and therefore his Majesty could not but conclude,  
 that, by this application of that state to him, they hoped  
 he would endeavour to extinguish that war which he could  
 not maintain. And it is very true, that, at the same time

**BOOK** with this letter, he received advice and information, from  
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some of his prime ministers of that kingdom, who were well known, and acknowledged, perfectly to abhor the rebellion, “that there was no reasonable hope of preserving “his Protestant subjects, and his own interest in that “kingdom, but by treating with the rebels, and making a “peace, or truce, with them.” The King well foresaw to what reproaches he should object himself, by entering into such a treaty with those rebels; and that they who had persuaded many to believe, that he had given countenance to, if not fomented, the rebellion, against all human evidence that can be imagined, would more easily gain credit, when they should be able to say, that he had made a peace with them: besides that he had bound himself not to make a peace with the rebels in Ireland, without the consent of his two Houses of Parliament in England. On the other side, nothing was more demonstrable, than that his Protestant subjects there could not defend the little they had left, without extraordinary aid and assistance out of England; that it was impossible for him to send any to them, and as visible, that the Parliament would not, or could not; so that it seemed only in his election, whether he would preserve the remainder of his Protestant subjects there, and that whole kingdom, in dependence upon his crown, with the inconvenience of some perverse and unreasonable scandal; or suffer them to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having lost a kingdom, when it was in his own power to have retained it within his subjection: and whatever he had obliged himself to, in those acts of Parliament which he had passed for relief of Ireland, before any rebellion in England, was not, that there might never be a peace in Ireland, but that the two Houses might cooperate with him, whereby the rebels might be reduced to those straits, that they might be compelled to submit to the performance of their duties: and that, instead of any such cooperation, the two Houses refused to concur with him in any thing, and had employed those monies, which had been raised by those very acts,



for the relief of Ireland, in the maintenance of the armies which had given his Majesty battle in England, expressly contrary to the words of those acts; and therefore that his Majesty might be reasonably disengaged from those covenants on his part.

Upon these considerations, after two months' delay, to see whether yet the Parliament would take care of them, and having received fresh importunities, and advices from thence, about the end of July, the King writ to the Lords Justices in Ireland, "that they should issue out a commission, under the Great Seal of Ireland, to the Marquis of Ormond, to treat and conclude a cessation of arms with the rebels, upon such articles and conditions as he should judge most reasonable; and during that cessation, that such agents as they should make choice of, should have access to his royal Person, to present their own propositions for peace:" so careful was the King not to infringe that act of Parliament, which many understood to be dissolved by themselves: there being no colourable clause in it, by which it was not in his Majesty's own power to make a cessation; and the peace itself he respite in such a manner, that he might receive advice and concurrence from the Parliament, if they would not decline any farther consideration or care of that kingdom.

Hereupon the Lord Marquis of Ormond, being then only General of the horse there, entered upon a treaty with commissioners authorized by the council at Kilkenny; to whose jurisdiction the rebels had committed the whole government of their affairs; and articles of cessation being prepared for a year, and perused, and approved by the Lords Justices and Council, without whose advice the Marquis would not proceed, and all the principal officers of the army having given it under their hands, being present likewise at the treaty, "that it was most necessary for the preservation of that kingdom, that a cessation should be made for a year, upon those articles and conditions;" and the rebels undertaking "to pay to his Majesty's use, thirty thousand and eight hun-

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“dred pounds sterling, within a short time; whereof fifteen thousand eight hundred pounds in ready money, and the other fifteen thousand pounds, one half in money, and the other half in good beefs, at thirty pounds the score;” a cessation of arms was concluded by the Marquis; and published, with the articles and conditions, by the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, to begin on the fifteenth day of September, and to continue for the space of a whole year.

A cessation of arms concluded for a year in Ireland, Sept. 7. disowned by the two Houses at Westminster.

This cessation was no sooner known in England, but the two Houses declared against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his Majesty's dishonour that can be imagined; persuading the people, “that the rebels were now brought to their last gasp, and reduced to so terrible a famine, that, like cannibals, they eat one another, and must have been destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out, if, by the Popish counsels at Court, the King had not been persuaded to consent to this cessation.” It is one of the instances of the strange, fatal misunderstanding, which possessed this time, that, notwithstanding all the caution the King used in meddling at all with the business of that kingdom from the time of the rebellion, and the clear discovery of all particular reasons, grounds, and counsels, when he found it necessary to interpose in it, the calumnies and slanders raised to his Majesty's disservice and dishonour, made a more than ordinary impression upon the minds of men, and not only of vulgar-spirited people, but of those who resisted all other infusions and infection. And posterity, no question, will inquire, from what rise or spring this disadvantage flowed; to which inquiry I can apply no other satisfaction, besides the disease of the time; which imputed all designs to designs upon religion, and whatsoever was done by Papists, to the zeal of the Queen on the behalf of her own religion; then that the chief managers, and conductors of their counsels, found it necessary to aver many things of fact upon their own knowledge, (by which they found the understanding of men liable to be captivated,) which in truth

were not so: as I myself found by some sober men, at such times as there was occasion of intercourse, and conference with them, that they did, upon such assurance, believe that the King had done somewhat in that business of Ireland, (some having avowed, that they had seen his hand to such and such letters and instructions,) which, upon as much knowledge as any man can morally have of a negative, I am sure he never did.

I shall here insert, as the most natural and proper evidence of the state of Ireland, at the time of the cessation, and of the unanswerable motives which prevailed with the King to consent to it, two letters; the one, of expostulation from the two Houses to the Lords Justices and Council, which was received by them after the cessation agreed on, though seeming to be sent before; and the answer of that Board thereunto; with the contents whereof, the King, nor any of his Council attending on him, was not at all acquainted, till long after their delivery. The letters were in these words.

*To our very good Lords, the Lords Justices, and Council, for the kingdom of Ireland.*

“ Our very good Lords,

“ The Lords and Commons in Parliament have com-  
 “ manded us to let you know, they have seen your letter  
 “ of the tenth of June, directed to the Speaker of the  
 “ House of Commons, accompanied with an act of State,  
 “ in the preamble whereof is an expression to this effect;  
 “ that your present difficulties are occasioned through the  
 “ failure of the Houses of Parliament in England, who un-  
 “ dertook the charge of this war. This letter, and act of  
 “ Council, were sent by his Majesty from Oxford; to  
 “ whom they believe you have sent copies of both, and  
 “ have just cause to suspect, that there is an impious de-  
 “ sign now on foot, to sell for nought the crying blood of  
 “ many hundred thousands of British Protestants, by a  
 “ dishonourable, unsufferable peace with the rebels; and  
 “ then to lay the blame and shame of this upon the Par-

A letter concerning it, from the two Houses to the Lords Justices, July 4, 1643.



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“liament; a plot suitable to those counsels that have  
 “both projected and fomented this unparalleled rebellion:  
 “for those who contrived the powder treason, intended to  
 “lay it on the Puritans. And although they cannot think  
 “your Lordships intended to further this design by this  
 “expression, yet they have cause to believe, you have for-  
 “gotten the present condition of this kingdom; the sup-  
 “plies they have sent thither of all sorts, even in the midst  
 “of their own wants; what relief going thither hath been  
 “taken away by sea and land, and by whom; and what  
 “discouragements have been given them in return: so  
 “that, as your Lordships do truly observe the Protestant  
 “party in that city desirous to contribute, in all things,  
 “towards preservation of that kingdom, and that all the  
 “opposition therein is from those of the Popish party; so  
 “ought you justly to conclude, that the Protestant party  
 “in this kingdom have contributed, and are still endea-  
 “vouring to contribute, monies, ammunition, victuals, and  
 “other necessities, for the saving of that kingdom: and  
 “that the Popish and Malignant party here, now in arms  
 “against the Parliament and kingdom, have not assisted,  
 “in the least measure, this pious work; but, on the con-  
 “trary, do hinder and oppose the same: neither should  
 “your Lordships conceive, that only the charge of that  
 “war was referred to, and undertaken by, the Parliament,  
 “as if their part was to be your bankers, only to provide  
 “money for you to spend, and were not to advise and di-  
 “rect the managing of the war; although an act of Parlia-  
 “ment hath invested them with that power; which they  
 “must assume and vindicate as the means to save that  
 “kingdom; and shall bring to condign punishment those  
 “there, who, in this conjuncture of affairs, have advised  
 “the commission to hear what the rebels can say, or pro-  
 “pound, for their own advantage; the letters to divest  
 “their committee of an authority given them by both  
 “Houses; and that advised the late alteration of govern-  
 “ment there; as enemies to the weal of both kingdoms,  
 “and fautors of that rebellion. In the last place, we are

“ forbidden to tell you, what supplies of money, victuals,  
 “ ammunition, and other necessities, are in good forward-  
 “ ness to be sent over, for the support of the officers and  
 “ soldiers there, and by whose incessant care; lest they  
 “ should seem to answer that scandal by excuse, which de-  
 “ serves an high resentment. This being all we have in  
 “ command for the present, we bid your Lordships fare-  
 “ well, and remain,

“ Your Lordships’ friends to serve you,

“ *Grey of Warke,*

“ *Speaker of the House of Lords pro tempore;*

“ *William Lenthall,*

“ *Speaker of the Commons House in Parliament.*

“ The Lords and Commons will examine the demeanour  
 “ of the ships appointed to guard those coasts; and might  
 “ have expected a copy of Mountrose’s letter to Colonel  
 “ Crawford, which came to your hands before the 10th of  
 “ June; and, happily, would discover the treason of the  
 “ rebels, sent by your enemies to destroy you; as well as  
 “ a complaint of those sea-captains, sent by your friends  
 “ to defend you; whose neglects and misdeeds are not-  
 “ withstanding to be punished, according as their demerits  
 “ shall appear.”

*Westminster, the 4th of July, 1643.*

*To our very good Lord, the Lord Speaker of the Right Ho-  
 nourable the Lords House of Parliament, in the king-  
 dom of England; and to our very loving friend, Wil-  
 liam Lenthall, Esq. Speaker of the Honourable Commons  
 House in Parliament, in the said kingdom.*

“ Our very good Lord, and Mr. Speaker of the Com-  
 “ mons House in Parliament,

“ Your joint letters of the fourth of July last directed  
 “ to us, were so long in coming, as they came not to our  
 “ hands until the sixth of October. By those your letters,  
 “ you signify, that the Lords and Commons in Parliament

The Lords  
Justices’  
answer.

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“ have commanded you to let us know, that they have  
“ seen our letters of the tenth of June, directed to the  
“ Speaker of the House of Commons, accompanied with  
“ an act of State, in the preamble whereof there is an ex-  
“ pression to this effect; that our present difficulties were  
“ occasioned through the failure of the Houses of Parlia-  
“ ment in England, who undertook the charge of this war:  
“ to which expression, it seems, exception is taken, and  
“ interpretations made thereof, far otherwise we are sure  
“ than was intended by us; and, as we conceive, other-  
“ wise than the true sense of those words can bear. It is  
“ true, that when we were necessitated to set on foot the  
“ new imposition, raised here in nature of an excise, to-  
“ wards keeping this army from perishing by famine, it  
“ became necessary to express, in the act of Council  
“ whereby we ordered it, the reasons inducing us to set  
“ on foot here a thing so unknown to his Majesty’s laws,  
“ and gracious government, and the difficulties wherewith  
“ we contended, which did necessitate that resolution;  
“ and in expressing those difficulties, we used that ex-  
“ pression, to shew whence our difficulties were occa-  
“ sioned; and that we have therein declared the truth, we  
“ crave leave to mind you of some particulars.

“ If we should look so far back as to repeat the sub-  
“ stance of many dispatches sent from this Board, since  
“ the beginning of this rebellion; some to our very good  
“ Lord, the Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom; some to  
“ the Lords, and others, members of both Houses, his  
“ Majesty’s commissioners for the affairs of this kingdom;  
“ and some to the Speaker of the Commons House of  
“ Parliament there; it would prove a voluminous work;  
“ and therefore we forbear to look farther back into those  
“ dispatches, than to the time when the committee sent  
“ thence hither, were here; who, at their arrival here, in  
“ the end of October 1642, brought with them some mo-  
“ ney and provisions, but far short of that which the ne-  
“ cessities of this army required; and indeed so incon-  
“ siderable, in respect of those necessities, as even before



“ that committee departed, they saw the money they had  
“ brought, wholly issued; and the high and unavoidable  
“ necessity of a farther, speedy, and plentiful supply of  
“ money, and other provisions. By letters from this  
“ Board of the twentieth of January 1642, and directed to  
“ the Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament  
“ there, it was signified thither, that the provisions of vic-  
“ tuals here were then at the very bottom; that that com-  
“ mittee then here, had certified thither those wants; that  
“ if a personal supply of victual arrived not here very  
“ speedily, the army could not subsist, but must have been  
“ constrained to disband, to the loss of this kingdom, and  
“ utter destruction of the few subjects here: that the want  
“ of treasure here, to pay the army, enforced this Board to  
“ issue victual to the common soldier, and others, towards  
“ their pay, which did the sooner exhaust the magazine of  
“ victual; that the captains, and other officers, not having  
“ relief that way, were reduced to great extremities, as  
“ had been formerly often represented thither; and there-  
“ fore this Board, by the said letters, then moved, that  
“ treasure might be sent us speedily, so to redeem the  
“ officers from the calamities they suffered, and this Board  
“ from their unsupportable clamours; and to enable the  
“ payment, in some part, in money to the common sol-  
“ dier; so to make the victual we then expected, to hold  
“ out the longer.

“ It was also by those letters then advertised thither,  
“ that the extremities of the officers of the army had be-  
“ gotten so much discontent amongst them, as divers co-  
“ lonels, and others of them, presented at this Board a re-  
“ monstrance, whereof a copy was then sent inclosed in  
“ the said letters; which remonstrance did exceedingly  
“ trouble and perplex us, lest it might beget such dis-  
“ tractions amongst us, as might give too much advantage  
“ to the rebels. But, after full debate thereof at this  
“ Board, it was here directed, that in present, to render  
“ some subsistence to the officers, until treasure arrived  
“ forth of England, every man in this city should bring in

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“ half of his plate, to be paid for it when treasure arrived ;  
“ whereupon some plate was brought in, and applied to-  
“ wards the army. This Board did also signify by those  
“ letters, that without some speedy relief forth of Eng-  
“ land, the burden here was become too heavy to be  
“ borne ; and therefore, in discharge of our duty to God,  
“ to our gracious Sovereign, to that kingdom, and to this,  
“ we held ourselves bound clearly to make known, that  
“ unless we were speedily supplied from thence with mo-  
“ ney, arms, and victual, it would be impossible for us any  
“ farther to prosecute this war, or to preserve from sudden  
“ confusion this state and government : so highly did the  
“ discontent of the officers, and the disorder of the sol-  
“ diers, threaten us, that it might be easily apprehended,  
“ what, in all human probability, must become of us, when  
“ it was then evident, that here was no money, nor any  
“ possibility of procuring any in this city ; when our vic-  
“ tuals were spent ; when a great part of the army had no  
“ arms ; upon which we doubted, and feared, for the rea-  
“ sons in those letters expressed, that the soldiers would  
“ make prey of us and this city at last ; and when we saw  
“ that the destruction, then threatened against us, must  
“ then go farther, even to the loss of this crown, and  
“ kingdom ; and to the highly endangering of that king-  
“ dom also ; which, for the honour of his Majesty, and  
“ the English nation, we by our said letters desired might,  
“ by the wisdom of that honourable House, be speedily  
“ prevented, by hastening away, with all possible speed,  
“ supply of money, arms, and victuals.

“ By other letters of this Board, directed to Mr. Speaker,  
“ and dated the said 20th of January 1642, it was adver-  
“ tised thither, that it was become of absolute necessity,  
“ that there should be sent us from thence, speedily, six  
“ hundred light geldings for recruits, to be defalked out of  
“ the entertainments of those who should receive them.  
“ By other letters from this Board, of the same date, di-  
“ rected to Mr. Speaker, it was signified thither, that we  
“ had contracted an agreement here with Theodore Schout,

“ and Jacob Ablin, merchants, that Anthony Tyrenes, in  
“ London, or Daniel Wibrant, in Amsterdam, should re-  
“ ceive seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thir-  
“ teen pounds three shillings; for which the said Theo-  
“ dore and Jacob had undertaken, by their agreement with  
“ us, to buy in Holland, and to transport from thence  
“ hither, at their own charge and adventure, several pro-  
“ portions of arms mentioned in a docket, then sent in-  
“ closed in our said letters; and they undertook so to secure  
“ it by insurance, and provide such a ship of force, as we  
“ might be assured to have all those arms arrive here by  
“ the tenth of March now last past. And we, by our said  
“ letters, earnestly besought that the said sum of seven  
“ thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds  
“ three shillings might, by order of that honourable  
“ House, be speedily paid to the said Tyrenes, or Wibrant,  
“ that those provisions might arrive here by the tenth of  
“ March; that we might not lose the advantage of the  
“ then next spring, for recovering of such of the sea-  
“ ports, and other places of importance, as the rebels had  
“ gotten; and for proceeding effectually in this war. Those  
“ letters also moved for other provisions of war, which we  
“ conceived might be had in England in reasonable time.  
“ And we then sent a docket of those also; desiring ear-  
“ nestly they might be sent us speedily. And although  
“ there was an agent sent from hence in November 1641,  
“ to solicit the dispatches sent from hence, who attended  
“ at London, when those our letters were sent hence; yet  
“ of so great importance was that dispatch, requiring in-  
“ stant and speedy answer and supply from thence, as we  
“ adjudged it necessary to give special instructions to the  
“ Lord Conway, and others, (besides that agent then there  
“ attending,) to move his Majesty, and solicit the Houses  
“ of Parliament, to hasten unto us, with all possible speed,  
“ the provisions in those letters contained: and that there  
“ might nothing be omitted, that by solicitation could be  
“ obtained, there were agents also sent thither from the  
“ army to solicit for them. By letters from this Board of



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“ the twentieth of February 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker,  
“ we again desired, with all possible earnestness, that the  
“ provisions of all sorts, expressed in those three letters of  
“ the twentieth of January, and the dockets therewith  
“ sent, might be hastened to us; and that the said seven  
“ thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds  
“ three shillings, for arms to be provided in Holland,  
“ might be speedily paid. And in those last letters we  
“ again signified our miserable and unspeakable want of  
“ victuals, arms, munition, money, shoes, and other neces-  
“ saries; and that if the supplies we moved for came not  
“ speedily, we were unavoidably in danger to be as much  
“ devoured by our own wants, as by the sword of the re-  
“ bels; and that our want of corn was so much the more,  
“ in regard that, in confidence to be plentifully supplied  
“ forth of England, we caused great destruction to be  
“ made of corn; there being indeed nothing conducing  
“ more to the destruction of rebels, than the burning of all  
“ corn.

“ We also then signified the necessity of sending a far-  
“ ther supply of powder and match; and we declared, that  
“ no words could sufficiently express the greatness of the  
“ danger we should incur, if our supplies came not speedi-  
“ ly: that the plate brought in amounted not to one thou-  
“ sand two hundred pounds; a sum very inconsiderable  
“ towards relief of the officers. By letters of this Board  
“ of the twenty-fifth of February 1642, directed to Mr.  
“ Speaker, we signified, that when our means from thence  
“ failed, and our credits could hold out no longer, we were  
“ constrained, towards relief of the army, to force from the  
“ Protestant merchants here, as well English as strangers,  
“ not only the commodities they had brought hither, but  
“ the native commodities also; undertaking to them that  
“ they should receive payment at London; which failing,  
“ that those that would supply us were disheartened, and  
“ durst not come hither with commodities; wherefore we  
“ again, by those letters, besought speedy supply from  
“ thence; declaring that otherwise the army and we must

“ perish ; and so far we were transported with grief, in the  
“ consideration of the high extremities of this kingdom,  
“ and army, as we did, by those letters, lament for the  
“ shame and dishonour, which we then foresaw would re-  
“ flect upon the English nation, if then, after so long and  
“ often forewarnings, given by us to that honourable  
“ House, this kingdom were lost, and that for want of  
“ supplies from thence ; wherein we then declared, that all  
“ the comfort left us was, that we had done our parts, and  
“ discharged our duties to God, to his Majesty, and to all  
“ his kingdoms, who must have borne their parts with us  
“ in so heavy a loss.

“ By letters from this Board, dated the twenty-third of  
“ March 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we signified that  
“ our wants enforced us to distribute the soldiers, for  
“ their victuals, in and throughout this city and suburbs ;  
“ which, we signified, could not long hold, considering  
“ the poverty of this place ; and therefore, to avoid utter  
“ confusion, we did again and again beseech most ear-  
“ nestly, that, above all things, victuals and munition  
“ might be sent us speedily ; and that money, arms,  
“ clothes, shoes, and other provisions might also be sent ;  
“ declaring, that if they yet came speedily, the kingdom,  
“ and his Majesty’s forces here, might be thereby redeemed  
“ out of part of their distresses ; and we enabled, by the  
“ blessing of God, to give his Majesty such an account of  
“ this kingdom, as would be for the glory of the King our  
“ master, and the honour of the English nation, in the  
“ subduing this horrid rebellion ; which, by reason of our  
“ wants, and in no other respect, was then grown very  
“ terrible : and we did again call for the provisions, moved  
“ for by our several former letters of the twentieth of Ja-  
“ nuary, and twentieth of February, and for the payment  
“ of the seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thir-  
“ teen pounds three shillings, for arms to be provided in  
“ Holland, and those also which we expect from London ;  
“ declaring, that unless those supplies came, we should  
“ be disabled from doing service on the rebels the then



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“ next spring, or the then succeeding summer; and must  
“ undoubtedly put the rebels into a condition of prevailing  
“ against us, which we well believed the kingdom of Eng-  
“ land would never have permitted against so faithful ser-  
“ vants and valiant soldiers, as his Majesty yet had here.

“ By those letters also we signified, that it was necessary  
“ that there should be here, at this harbour of Dublin, by  
“ the middle of April, at least two ships of good strength;  
“ and that the ships designed for guarding the other parts  
“ of the coasts of this kingdom, should be hastened away  
“ with all possible speed. By letters from this Board di-  
“ rected to Mr. Speaker, dated the fourth of April 1643,  
“ we represented again the unspeakable miseries of the  
“ officers and soldiers, for want of all things; and all  
“ those made the more insupportable, in the want of  
“ food; and that this city was then apparently found to  
“ be unable to help us, as it had formerly done; and re-  
“ peated again, in as lively terms as we could, the high  
“ extremities fallen, and increasing upon us; declaring,  
“ that we were enforced to see, who had any thing yet left  
“ him not taken from him, to help us; and that although  
“ there were but few such, and some poor merchants,  
“ whom we had formerly, by the law of necessity, utterly  
“ undone; yet, that we were forced to wrest their com-  
“ modities from them: that there were few here, of our-  
“ selves or others, that had not felt their parts in the en-  
“ forced rigour of our proceedings towards preserving the  
“ army; and we earnestly desired, that his Majesty, and  
“ the English nation, might not suffer so great, if not ir-  
“ recoverable prejudice and dishonour, as must unavoid-  
“ ably be the consequence of our not being relieved sud-  
“ denly; but that yet, although it were then even almost  
“ at the point to be too late, supplies of victuals, and mu-  
“ nition, in present might be hastened hither, to keep life,  
“ until the rest might follow: declaring also, that there  
“ was no victual in the store, and that there would not be  
“ an hundred barrels of powder left, when the out-garri-  
“ sons, as they must then instantly have been, were sup-



“plied; and that the residue of our provisions must also  
“come speedily after, or otherwise that England could  
“not hope to secure Ireland, or secure themselves against  
“Ireland; but in the loss of it, must look for such ene-  
“mies from hence, as would perpetually disturb the peace  
“of his Majesty, and his kingdom of England; and among  
“them, by sea and land, as we had often formerly repre-  
“sented thither; which mischiefs we signified might yet  
“be prevented, if we were but then forthwith enabled,  
“from thence, with means to overcome this rebellion.

“We then also again renewed our requests for the pro-  
“visions mentioned in our letters of the twentieth of Ja-  
“nuary, and for the payment of the seven thousand eight  
“hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings,  
“for arms to be provided in Holland, besides those we ex-  
“pected from London: we then also sent, inclosed in our  
“letters to Mr. Speaker, a copy of writing, signed by  
“sundry officers of the army, which was in a style threat-  
“ening much danger; whereby appeared the high neces-  
“sity of hastening treasure hither to pay them, and the  
“rest of the officers, and provide victual for the soldiers.  
“On the tenth of April 1643, we received letters from  
“Mr. Speaker, of the seventeenth of March, in answer to  
“our letters of the twentieth and twenty-fifth of February.  
“Those letters from Mr. Speaker advised free trade and  
“truck to be given to merchants, by taking our native  
“commodities, that cannot be manufactured here, for  
“their corn, and other victuals, and carrying them into  
“England, or other places not prohibited. And by our  
“letters directed to Mr. Speaker, dated the twenty-second  
“of April, in answer to his said letters of the seventeenth  
“of March, we made it appear, that that design could not  
“hold to derive benefit to this army. By those our letters  
“we signified also, that the necessities of the army still  
“pressed us, by degrees, to break the merchants here, by  
“wresting their commodities from them, upon promise of  
“satisfaction in England: that the failing of that satis-  
“faction in England, as it had undone them, so had it in-

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“ finitely prejudiced the service here: that we engaged the  
“ word of this State, to procure payment to many others,  
“ out of the next treasure that shall arrive forth of Eng-  
“ land, (which courses, though very hard, did help us for  
“ a time;) that when those failed, we begun at ourselves,  
“ then at others, then at all fraternities, and corporations,  
“ as bakers, brewers, butchers, vintners, and the like; then  
“ at all particular persons observed to have any visible  
“ substance, not being able to spare poor men, who (to  
“ gain a poor living) made profession, some of selling hot  
“ waters, and some of cutting tobacco: that in the end,  
“ all other means failing, we had recourse to the only  
“ native commodity, hides; seizing on all that could be  
“ found, either on ship-board, ready to be exported hence,  
“ (with purpose in some of the owners of them to return  
“ victuals hither; which we were not able to wait for,) or  
“ on shore; prepared for ship-board; and made use of  
“ them to get the army in a few days’ bread, still hoping  
“ provisions of victual might come to keep them alive;  
“ which did draw upon us infinite clamour.

“ And by the said letters we earnestly besought, that  
“ before we should be utterly swallowed up in the con-  
“ fusion of affairs, wherewith we were beset, the destruc-  
“ tion of this state, and army, and kingdom, being then no  
“ less feared to arise from the army, though sent hither  
“ for their preservation, than from the fury of the rebels,  
“ if that honourable House would not look back into all  
“ our several letters sent thither, which we then declared  
“ should for ever acquit us before God, and the world; as  
“ having discharged our duties to God, to his Majesty, and  
“ to this his kingdom, in fully, and timely, and often re-  
“ presenting thither the evils then ready to seize upon  
“ this state, the army, and the kingdom, and the means of  
“ preventing them; yet at last they would be pleased to  
“ review our said several letters of the twentieth and  
“ twenty-fifth of February, of the twentieth of January,  
“ twenty-third of March, and fourth of April. We then  
“ also signified that the soldiers, pressed through wants,

“ attempted tumults and mutiny, plundered divers of the  
“ inhabitants of this city, as well English and Protestants,  
“ as others: that we apprehended those disorders but be-  
“ ginnings of what, we doubted, would then shortly ensue,  
“ even the ransack of this city, if, by supplies forth of Eng-  
“ land, it were not prevented: that then there would be  
“ no refuge left, either for the army, or other English  
“ here: that we were not able to send out the soldiers, for  
“ want of money to furnish ordinary necessities, and of  
“ ammunition: wherefore we then again earnestly moved,  
“ that some means might be found for complying with our  
“ desires, in those our several letters expressed; certify-  
“ ing, that the state of affairs here could not possibly ad-  
“ mit the least deferring; and that no help was to be ex-  
“ pected from hence; as we had often, and fully, in for-  
“ mer letters, signified thither: that if it were not im-  
“ mediately supplied forth of England with powder, we  
“ should not be able to defend ourselves, or offend the  
“ rebels; and that, above all things, munition, money, and  
“ victuals, were, of necessity, to be sent in the first place;  
“ and the other provisions to be sent after, which also  
“ we certified most needful to be done with all possible  
“ speed.

“ By our letters of the sixth of May 1643, directed to  
“ Mr. Speaker, we signified how necessary it was, that the  
“ intended establishment should be considered there, and  
“ put into such a way as to be made perfect, and, receiving  
“ his Majesty’s gracious approbation, might be sent hither;  
“ which we desired to be hastened, that the officers, who  
“ daily labour in the public services, might the better know  
“ what they are to have; of which establishment we have  
“ not yet had any return. By our letters to Mr. Speaker  
“ of the 11th of May 1643, we signified, that although by  
“ letters from Mr. Speaker, dated the 17th day of March,  
“ it was advertised hither, that six weeks’ provision of  
“ victuals, for each province, was in preparing, yet that it  
“ was not come, or if it was come, that it was a supply far  
“ below that which was necessary to be then sent hither.



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“ And we then again repeated the miserable condition of  
“ this army, through want of all things, especially money,  
“ victuals, clothes, arms, and munition: that there were  
“ not above forty barrels of powder in the store, (a mean  
“ and inconsiderable quantity for this army, on whom de-  
“ pends the preservation of the kingdom,) and we again  
“ desired, in case of so high and eminent danger, and that  
“ with all possible importunity, that a course might be  
“ then instantly taken for hastening away powder with all  
“ speed, and that the other provisions also of all sorts,  
“ mentioned in our former several letters of the 20th of  
“ January, 20th and 25th of February, the 23d of March,  
“ and the 4th and 22d of April, might be also hastened  
“ away; and that the seven thousand eight hundred and  
“ fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for arms  
“ to be provided in Holland, besides those we expected  
“ from London, might be paid.

“ By those letters also we signified, that we could not  
“ but lament our misfortune, and the dishonour reflecting  
“ on the English nation, that the season of the year should  
“ be so far entered into, and yet (notwithstanding all the  
“ representations, often, and timely enough made thither  
“ of affairs here) no means put into our power to make  
“ use thereof, in a vigorous prosecution of the war; but  
“ instead thereof, notwithstanding all the endeavour and  
“ industry here used to prevent it, we then beheld our-  
“ selves sunk deeply into a gulph of confusion, and dis-  
“ tress of affairs, being equally in danger to be devoured  
“ through our wants, or to be destroyed by the rebels, for  
“ want of needful habiliments of war to enable our de-  
“ fence, as had been formerly often and fully declared  
“ thither; and therefore we again pressed to be redeemed  
“ from the terribleness of our condition, by such timely  
“ accessions of supplies forth of England, as were con-  
“ tained in our said former dispatches.

“ By our letters to Mr. Speaker, dated the 16th of May  
“ 1643, we desired that 320*l.* might be paid there, as we  
“ had formerly desired, for sundry particulars necessary for

“ the surgeons of this army; there being a great want  
“ thereof for the cures of wounded men. And then we  
“ sent, and employed Sir Thomas Wharton, Knight, a  
“ member of this army, purposely to solicit the means of  
“ our relief, that so we might omit nothing that we con-  
“ ceived might conduce to the hastening of our expected  
“ supplies. And by our letters of the 16th of May, then  
“ sent to Mr. Speaker, we signified, that the kingdom was  
“ then in more danger than ever to be forced out of our  
“ hands, for want of timely supplies out of England; and  
“ we desired most earnestly, that his dispatch might be  
“ hastened for our preservation, that, if it were possible,  
“ the King and kingdom of England, might yet then be  
“ preserved from that irrecoverable prejudice and disho-  
“ nour, which must necessarily accompany and follow the  
“ loss of this kingdom.

“ And here we may not omit to mention, that we pre-  
“ vailed with divers persons to advance provisions to us, at  
“ several times, to answer the crying necessities of this  
“ army; and to some we gave our bills, in nature of bills  
“ of exchange, and to others, our own bonds, undertaking  
“ repayment at London by the Parliament there; which  
“ we did in confidence to find ready payment there accord-  
“ ingly: and we do not yet hear that those bills of ex-  
“ change, or bonds, are yet paid there; but we find some  
“ of the parties ready to sue and implead us here, for those  
“ debts, though contracted only for the public service.

“ Which proceeding of this Board, from time to time,  
“ we thus at large deduce, that so it may appear fully that  
“ we have discharged those duties which we owe to his  
“ Majesty, and to the trust of his Majesty’s affairs here,  
“ in representing thither fully, and timely, and often, the  
“ wants and extremities to which this kingdom and army  
“ were reduced, and the means requisite to be sent for relief  
“ and preservation of both; and yet in all that time, namely  
“ from the said twentieth day of January 1642, to the  
“ tenth of June 1643, which is the day of the date of our  
“ letters, to which yours of the fourth of July is an answer,

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“ or from that time to this, there arrived here, as sent  
 “ from the Parliament of England, towards the relief of  
 “ this army, and for maintenance of this war, but the par-  
 “ ticulars following, viz. forty-nine thousand two hundred  
 “ forty-eight pounds of butter; forty-nine thousand six  
 “ hundred forty-nine pounds of cheese; four hundred  
 “ forty-seven barrels and a half of wheat and rye; three  
 “ hundred threescore and seven barrels of pease; and three  
 “ hundred fifty-six barrels of oats; also five hundred suits  
 “ of clothes, one thousand cassocks, two thousand eight  
 “ hundred and eighteen caps; also eight and twenty hun-  
 “ dred three quarters and one pound of match, thirty-eight  
 “ hundred two quarters and nine pound of shot, and three  
 “ hundred threescore and fourteen barrels of powder; of  
 “ which provisions of munition, there were three hundred  
 “ and one and forty barrels of powder, and five hundred  
 “ fifty-five pound two quarters and four and twenty pound  
 “ of match, which was the munition we had contracted for  
 “ here, and in the way, coming from Holland, was inter-  
 “ cepted at sea, and carried to Calais, and afterwards set  
 “ free there by the mediation of his Majesty, and the  
 “ Houses of Parliament in England, but the price thereof  
 “ stands charged on the said Houses of Parliament.

“ This was not above a week’s provision, or thereabouts,  
 “ of victuals, for the army in Lemster, being fifteen regi-  
 “ ments of foot, and twenty-two troops of horse, and four  
 “ troops of dragoons, besides train of artillery, and four  
 “ hundred firelocks; so as certainly there was a failure in  
 “ supplying us, and that failure was not occasioned through  
 “ any neglect on our parts, in not representing thither the  
 “ wants and extremities endured by this army; and the  
 “ means of their supply is, as we conceive, very clear by  
 “ those several dispatches sent from us to Mr. Speaker.  
 “ And seeing, that the charge of this war was referred to,  
 “ and undertaken by, the Houses of Parliament of England,  
 “ and that by those dispatches they fully understood the  
 “ condition of affairs here, we offer it to any man’s con-  
 “ sideration, whether or no we had not just cause to con-



“ ceive, and accordingly to express in that act of Council,  
“ that our difficulties, which were necessary to be men-  
“ tioned in that act, were occasioned through the failure  
“ of the Houses of Parliament in England.

“ And whereas you write, that the Lords and Commons  
“ in Parliament do believe we have sent copies of our said  
“ letters and act of Council to his Majesty, it is true, that  
“ we have so done; and therein acquitted ourselves to-  
“ wards that duty which we owe him; and had failed in  
“ our duties, if we had done otherwise. But how from  
“ that, as we conceive, necessary and true expression of  
“ ours in the said act of Council, or from our sending a  
“ copy thereof, and of our said letters, to his Majesty,  
“ there can be any just cause to suspect (as your letters  
“ seem to infer) there is such an impious design now on  
“ foot, as your letters mention, we confess we do not un-  
“ derstand, or any design at all other than the needful  
“ settling here of the imposition, in nature of an excise,  
“ in those our letters and act of Council mentioned; with-  
“ out which this army could not have subsisted to this  
“ time; and was pressed by the committee from the Par-  
“ liament here, but then avoided; our hopes being then  
“ more, and our necessities not so great as they were when  
“ we laid it. And as we find by your letters, that the  
“ Lords and Commons in Parliament there have done us  
“ the right, by your said letters, to signify that they cannot  
“ think we intended, by that expression, to farther the  
“ design in your letters mentioned, so we hold it necessary  
“ to declare, that we neither have forgotten, nor can for-  
“ get, the present condition of that kingdom; but we have  
“ a long time beheld, and still behold, and lament with  
“ bleeding hearts, the woful condition of that kingdom,  
“ and how God’s hand is still stretched out against us, in  
“ those heavy distractions there; yet we comfort ourselves  
“ with hope, that God, in mercy to his Majesty, and to all  
“ his kingdoms and people, will at length, in his own good  
“ time, answer the prayers and tears of us his Majesty’s  
“ servants, and many thousands of others his good subjects

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“ there, and here, continually poured out for his Majesty,  
“ and his kingdom, in removing that heavy judgment, and  
“ settling peace and tranquillity there, to the glory of God,  
“ the honour of his Majesty, and the joint happiness of all  
“ his subjects, in all his kingdoms and dominions.

“ Nor have we forgotten the supplies of all sorts sent  
“ hither by the Parliament, but do very well remember  
“ them. But we confess we know not what relief coming  
“ hither hath been taken away, either by sea or land, or by  
“ whom, or what discouragement hath been given them in  
“ return: only we have heard, that the shipping, employed  
“ by the rebels at Wexford, did give them some interrup-  
“ tion at sea; and that was occasioned by neglect of duty  
“ in those who commanded the ships designed for the  
“ guard of the coasts of this kingdom: and the said ship  
“ bound hither from Holland with munition, which we  
“ had contracted for here, was intercepted at sea, and car-  
“ ried to Calais, and afterwards set free there, by the me-  
“ diation of his Majesty and the Houses of Parliament in  
“ England. And we find that some ships, sent hither it  
“ seems at first with provisions from London, and other  
“ ships bound hither with provisions on private men’s ad-  
“ ventures, were taken away even from this harbour, a few  
“ days before the cessation of arms here, as they were  
“ coming in, and carried to Liverpool, by one Captain  
“ Dausk, a person employed by the two Houses of Par-  
“ liament there, in the command of a ship; and that ship  
“ commanded by Dausk, and other ships employed at Li-  
“ verpool, do now, and have a long time stayed on that  
“ side, laden with provision of victuals, coals, and other  
“ necessary relief bound from thence hither to be sold;  
“ which, if they had arrived here, would have brought  
“ great relief to this army, and the inhabitants in this city,  
“ though on the adventure of the bringers; which we hold  
“ necessary to represent thither, to the end that their un-  
“ charitableness towards those poor men that would ad-  
“ venture hither to relieve us, and their inhumanity to-  
“ wards this distressed army and city, and many of his

“ Majesty’s Protestant subjects therein, might appear so, BOOK  
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“ as they, or others, may not presume hereafter to offend  
“ in that kind.

“ And whereas you write, that we should not conceive  
“ that only the charge of this war was referred to, and un-  
“ dertaken by, the Parliament, as if their part were to be  
“ our bankers, only to provide monies for us to spend, and  
“ were not to advise and direct the managing of the war;  
“ we confess we neither did, nor do conceive the Parlia-  
“ ment there to be bankers for us; but did esteem them,  
“ as those to whom the King our master referred the charge  
“ of this war, and to whom, as so intrusted by his Majesty,  
“ this Board, from time to time, made application; and if  
“ any advice had come from them, concerning the ma-  
“ naging of the war, we should have endeavoured to have  
“ made the best use thereof, for the furtherance of his Ma-  
“ jesty’s service here. And here we hold it necessary to  
“ declare, that when we understood, that his Majesty, at  
“ the humble desire of the Lords and Commons of Parlia-  
“ ment in England, had, in April 1642, granted a com-  
“ mission to some members of both Houses, for ordering  
“ and disposing all matters there, for the defence, relief,  
“ and recovery of this kingdom; and that his Majesty  
“ commanded all his officers, ministers, and subjects of his  
“ kingdoms of England and Ireland, to be obedient, aid-  
“ ing, and assisting to the said commissioners in the due  
“ execution of the said commission; and that by his Ma-  
“ jesty’s instructions, annexed to the said commission, his  
“ Majesty gave it in charge to those commissioners, to ad-  
“ vertise his Lieutenant of Ireland, the Council, and other  
“ governors and commanders here, what they conceived to  
“ be needful for the prosecution of the war in the best  
“ manner, for the defence of this his kingdom, and ease of  
“ the great charges and expences, which, by occasion of  
“ this rebellion, lay upon his loving subjects of his king-  
“ dom of England: we therefore, by our letters of the  
“ seventh of June 1642, directed to those his Majesty’s  
“ commissioners, besought, among other things, present



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“ and particular direction for the prosecution of the war;  
“ which yet we have not received: only we had advice  
“ from thence, to send some forces into Connaught; which  
“ was done; and for sending some forces into Munster,  
“ which, by our letters of the thirteenth of September  
“ 1642, to the commissioners there, we signified was not  
“ possible for us to do, unless we were plentifully supplied  
“ of those things, whereof the wants then certified thither  
“ did then disable us.

“ Concerning the commission in your letters mentioned,  
“ it was not to hear what the rebels would say, or pro-  
“ pound for their own advantage, as your letters mention;  
“ but his Majesty having received an humble petition, in  
“ the name of the Recusants of Ireland, desiring to be  
“ heard, his Majesty thought it not unjust, or inconveni-  
“ ent for him, to receive from them what they could say  
“ unto him; to whom they insinuated that they would yet  
“ yield due obedience. And therefore his Majesty, by his  
“ commission under the Great Seal of England, (wherein  
“ he declared his extreme detestation of the odious rebel-  
“ lion, which the Recusants of Ireland have, without any  
“ ground or colour, raised against him, his crown, and  
“ dignity,) authorized some of his ministers here, to hear  
“ at large what the petitioners should say, or propound;  
“ which his Majesty, by the said commission, directed  
“ that the petitioners, or the principal of them, authorized  
“ by the rest, should set down in writing under their  
“ hands; and the commissioners to send the same to his  
“ Majesty; whereupon his Majesty by the said commission  
“ declared, he would take such farther consideration, as  
“ should be just, honourable, and fit for his Majesty: and  
“ that that course gave not the least interruption to the  
“ proceeding of the war, appears by this, that on the eigh-  
“ teenth of March (being in the time the commissioners,  
“ authorized by his Majesty, gave meeting to those of the  
“ other side, upon that commission) the Lord Marquis of  
“ Ormond, though one of those commissioners, in his re-  
“ turn from Rosse with about two thousand five hundred

“ foot, and five hundred horse of his Majesty’s army,  
“ fought with the army of the rebels, consisting of about  
“ six thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty horse, and  
“ obtained a happy and glorious victory against them; and  
“ the rebels’ army being defeated, and wholly routed, and  
“ their baggage and munition seized on, his Majesty’s  
“ forces lodged that night where they had gained the vic-  
“ tory, as by former letters of this Board, of the fourth of  
“ April 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, we formerly sig-  
“ nified thither: which we thus repeat, to manifest that  
“ that commission, or the meeting thereupon, gave not  
“ any manner of interruption to the proceeding of the  
“ war.

“ Concerning the letters you mention, to divest the  
“ committee of both Houses there of an authority given  
“ them by both Houses, we remember that his Majesty,  
“ by his letters of the third of February 1642, understand-  
“ ing that the then Justices and Council had admitted,  
“ without his order or knowledge, to sit in council with  
“ them in this his kingdom, Mr. Robert Goodwin and Mr.  
“ Reynolds, and that thereby they were become so bold, as  
“ to take upon them to hear, and debate of matters treated  
“ of in council, his Majesty, by his said letters, signified  
“ by his express command, that they should not be per-  
“ mitted to sit, or be present any more at his Majesty’s  
“ Council Table here; but if they had any business, his  
“ Majesty willed, that they should attend as others of their  
“ quality: which his Majesty’s pleasure was humbly obeyed  
“ by his said Justices and Council, with that duty and sub-  
“ mission, which was due from them to his royal com-  
“ mands. And as his Majesty, by his said letters, required,  
“ that, if those persons had any business, they should at-  
“ tend, as others of their quality; so, if they had after-  
“ wards offered any business at this Board, they should  
“ have been heard therein; which was also signified to  
“ them before their departure hence. And now, upon  
“ this occasion, we having perused the copies they deli-  
“ vered at this Board, of the order of both Houses dated

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“ the sixth of October 1642, and of their instructions, do  
“ find indeed, that, by the said order, the said Robert  
“ Reynolds, and Robert Goodwin, were to have the cre-  
“ dence, power, and esteem of a committee sent hither  
“ by the advice and authority of both Houses of Parlia-  
“ ment; and that, by the said instructions, they were to  
“ be admitted to be present, and vote at all consultations  
“ concerning the war; yet there is nothing in the said or-  
“ der, or instructions, for admitting them to sit, or be pre-  
“ sent at his Majesty’s Council Table; which is that which  
“ his Majesty, by his said letters, required, should not be  
“ permitted; which cannot be conceived to be a divesting  
“ them of any authority given them by both Houses.

“ And as to the late alteration of government here, ex-  
“ pressed in your letters, although his Majesty in his high  
“ wisdom adjudged it fit to alter one of those governors,  
“ which he had placed here, which was no more than he  
“ and his royal predecessors had usually done in all ages,  
“ as often as they thought fit, yet that made no alteration  
“ in the government; but it in all times continued, and  
“ still continues, the same, though in other persons.

“ That part of your letters which declares, that you are  
“ forbidden to tell us what supplies of money, victual, am-  
“ munition, and other necessities, were then in a good  
“ forwardness to be sent hither for the support of the of-  
“ ficers and soldiers here, requires no answer on our parts,  
“ other than this truth, that they are not yet arrived here.  
“ Concerning Mountrose’s letters to Colonel Crawford, we  
“ know of no treason to be discovered thereby; but for the  
“ sea-captains in your letters mentioned, it is certain that  
“ their neglects and misdeeds deserve punishment, which  
“ we desire they may find rather to their correction, than  
“ to their ruin.

“ Thus we have given answer to those parts of your let-  
“ ters, which, we conceived, concerned us; whereby, we  
“ hope, both Houses of Parliament there will now remain  
“ satisfied, as in the necessity and justice of our actions,  
“ so in the truth and candour of our intentions, in those



“particulars to which your said letters seem to take exception. And so we remain, BOOK  
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*From his Majesty's Castle of Dublin 28th of Oct. 1643.*

“Your Lordships' very loving Friends,

<i>Jo. Borlase.</i>	<i>Hen. Tichborne.</i>	<i>Rich. Bolton, Canc.</i>
<i>La. Dublin.</i>	<i>Ormond.</i>	<i>Roscommon.</i>
<i>Ant. Midensis.</i>	<i>Ed. Brabazon.</i>	<i>Char. Lambert.</i>
<i>Geo. Shurley.</i>	<i>Ger. Lowther.</i>	<i>Tho. Rotherham.</i>
<i>Fr. Willoughby.</i>	<i>Tho. Lucas.</i>	<i>Ja. Ware.</i>
	<i>G. Wentworth.</i>	

The distractions in Ireland being, by means of the cessation, in some degree allayed, and both parties having time to breathe, the King, in the next place, considered how he might apply that cessation to the advancement of his affairs in England. One of the principal motives that induced that cessation, was the miserable state of the army there, ready, through extreme wants, to disband; so that there being now less use of them there, and an impossibility to keep them, his Majesty had it only in his election, whether he should suffer them there to disband, and dispose of themselves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite disorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular disservice; or whether he should draw over such a number as might be safely spared, to his own assistance in England; to which he was assured, that the devotion and affection of most of the principal or considerable officers there cheerfully inclined; and of this latter he made little scruple to make choice, when he was not only informed of the preparations and readiness in Scotland to invade this kingdom; but that they had called over their old General, the Earl of Leven, who commanded the Scotch forces in Ireland, and many other officers and soldiers out of that kingdom, to form and conduct their army into this; and that there were also arts and industry used, by some agents for the Parliament, to persuade the

**BOOK VII.** English officers likewise to bring over their men for their service.

The King  
sends for  
part of the  
English  
army out  
of Ireland.

So that the King directed the Marquis of Ormond, to make choice of such regiments and troops as were necessary for the defence of the several garrisons, or as could be provided for, and supported in that kingdom, and that the rest should be sent for England. To which purpose, shipping was sent; with direction, that those from and about Dublin should be shipped for Chester, to be joined to those forces under the command of the Lord Capel; whereby he might be able to resist the growing power of Sir William Bruerton; who, by an addition of forces from London, and with the assistance of Sir Thomas Middleton, and Sir John Gell, was grown very strong; being backed by Lancashire, which upon the matter was wholly reduced to the obedience of the Parliament: and that the other forces out of Munster should be landed at Bristol, to be disposed by the Lord Hopton; who was forming a new army, to oppose Sir William Waller; who threatened an inroad into the West; or rather to seek him out by visiting Hampshire and Sussex, if the other were not ready to advance.

The Court at Oxford was much increased by the Queen's presence, and the necessities were increased with the expence. All correspondence was absolutely broken with London, insomuch as a sworn messenger of the Chamber, sent to London with a writ, and proclamation for the adjournment of the term to Oxford, was apprehended as a spy, (as hath been said before,) and executed by martial law; and the two Houses had caused a Great Seal to be made with the King's image and inscription, and put the same into the hands of commissioners; and so the courts were continued in Westminster-Hall, for the dispatch of justice, (as they called it,) as had been formerly, notwithstanding the King's proclamation. The money, which by the particular persons of all conditions had been very plentifully supplied in the beginning of the war, now near

spent, and the stopping the intercourse with London, had shut the door against farther supply; so that all men were weary of the condition they were in, and expressed it, as weary men used to do, in murmurs and complaints. And now all the hope was in the convention of the members of Parliament; which, being a new thing, suspended the present indisposition, and administered some expectation, what they, who came from all quarters of the kingdom, would do.

According to the King's proclamation, the members of both Houses of Parliament, who had withdrawn out of conscience and duty from those at Westminster, appeared at Oxford at the day appointed; except such as could not reasonably be absent from their commands in the counties, where the armies were. They were graciously and solemnly welcomed by his Majesty, with that ceremony which is used at the opening of a Parliament; when his Majesty told them :

“ That he had called them to be witnesses of his actions, and privy to his intentions; and that he desired to receive any advice from them, which they thought would be suitable to the miserable and distracted condition of the kingdom; in presenting whereof, they should use all that Parliamentary freedom which would be due to them if they were with him at Westminster, and which, with all their other privileges, they should enjoy at Oxford, though they could not in the other place;” with many expressions of grace towards them, and confidence in them. As soon as they had withdrawn to those places which were assigned to their counsels, both Lords and Commons entered upon the deliberation of all possible expedients, in order to peace; most men believing, according to the reason and conscience of their own hearts, that the difficulty was greater, to dispose those at London to the honesty and confidence of a treaty, than, in that treaty, to agree on such conclusions as might be satisfactory to all parties; judging it impossible, that men could desire

The members of both Houses met at Oxford.

The substance of the King's speech to them.



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to bring ruin and desolation upon their country, if they were once persuaded that it might be prevented with their own preservation. But how to advance to any formality, which probably might produce a disposition to intercourse, appeared very hard. When they thought of advising the King to send a gracious message and overture to the two Houses, they presently remembered and considered what his Majesty had already done that way, and how ill returns of reverence and duty he had received from them: that to the two last messages he had sent (it being not possible now to send any more gracious and obliging) they had never returned answer, and that they still detained his last messenger in strict durance, after having exposed him to a trial for his life at a court of war: that they had prohibited any kind of address to be made to them from his Majesty, except through the hands of the Earl of Essex their General. From thence those at Oxford entered upon the disquisition, how they might engage his Lordship to the same thoughts and desires with them; to the which they easily believed, experience, observation, and interest, would engage him. They persuaded themselves, that the principal ground which had hitherto frustrated all overtures from his Majesty towards peace, was the conscience those at Westminster had of their own guilt, and the jealousy that proceeded from thence, that no peace could secure them, whilst there was power left in his Majesty; but that they could not possibly suspect the performance and exact observation of any agreement, which should be concluded upon the intercession of all the King's party; which must be security for the accomplishment of it. From the reasonableness of this assertion, they entertained an assurance, that the Earl of Essex would as greedily embrace the opportunity, and concur with them in promoting the overture; which was all they desired; for that would remove those forms, which, as so many rocks, were in the way. Hereupon the Lords and Commons, the members of both Houses, resolved to write a letter to the Earl of Essex, in

their own names, which, with the King's consent, was by trumpet sent to him, within four days after their meeting. BOOK  
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The letter was in these very terms.

“ My Lord,

“ His Majesty having, by his proclamation of the They send a letter to the Earl of Essex.  
“ twenty-second of December, (upon the occasion of the  
“ invasion threatened, and in part begun, by some of his  
“ subjects of Scotland,) summoned all the members of  
“ both Houses of Parliament, to attend him here at Ox-  
“ ford, we whose names are underwritten are here met and  
“ assembled, in obedience to those his Majesty's com-  
“ mands. His Majesty was pleased to invite us, in the  
“ said proclamation, by these gracious expressions, that  
“ his subjects should see, how willing he was to receive  
“ advice, for the preservation of the religion, laws, and  
“ safety of the kingdom, and, as far as in him lay, to re-  
“ store it to its former peace and security (his chief and  
“ only end) from those whom they had trusted; though  
“ he could not receive it in the place where he appointed.  
“ This most gracious invitation hath not only been made  
“ good unto us, but seconded and heightened by such un-  
“ questionable demonstrations of the deep and princely  
“ sense, which possesses his royal heart, of the miseries  
“ and calamities of his poor subjects in this unnatural war,  
“ and of his most entire and passionate affections to re-  
“ deem them from that sad and deplorable condition, by  
“ all ways possible, consistent either with his honour, or  
“ with the future safety of the kingdom, that as it were  
“ impiety to question the sincerity of them, so were it  
“ great want of duty and faithfulness in us, (his Majesty  
“ having vouchsafed to declare, that he did call us to be  
“ witnesses of his actions, and privy to his intentions,)  
“ should we not testify, and witness to all the world, the  
“ assurance we have of the piety and sincerity of both.  
“ We being most entirely satisfied of this truth, we cannot  
“ but confess, that amidst our highest afflictions, in the

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“ deep and piercing sense of the present miseries and desolations of our country, and those farther dangers threatened from Scotland, we are at length erected to some cheerful and comfortable thoughts, that possibly we may yet (by God’s mercy, if his justice have not determined this nation, for its sins, to total ruin and desolation) hope to be happy instruments of our country’s redemption, from the miseries of war, and restitution to the blessing of peace.

“ And we being desirous to believe your Lordship, how ever engaged, a person likely to be sensibly touched with these considerations, have thought fit to invite you to that part in this blessed work, which is only capable to repair all our misfortunes, and to buoy up the kingdom from ruin; that is, by conjuring you by all the obligations that have power upon honour, conscience, or public piety, that laying to heart, as we do, the inward bleeding condition of your country, and the outward more menacing destruction by a foreign nation, upon the very point of invading it, you will cooperate with us to its preservation, by truly representing to, and faithfully and industriously promoting with, those by whom you are trusted, this following most sincere and most earnest desire of ours; that they joining with us in a right sense of the past, present, and more threatening calamities of this deplorable kingdom, some persons be appointed on either part, and a place agreed on, to treat of such a peace, as may yet redeem it from the brink of desolation.

“ This address we should not have made, but that his Majesty’s summons, by which we are met, most graciously proclaiming pardon to all without exception, is evidence enough, that his mercy and clemency can transcend all former provocations; and that he hath not only made us witnesses of his princely intentions, but honoured us also with the name of being security for them. God Almighty direct your Lordship, and those to whom you shall present these our most real desires, in such a course as may produce that happy peace, and settlement



“ of the present distractions ; which is so heartily desired, BOOK  
 “ and prayed for, by us, and which may make us, VII.

“ Your &c.”

*From Oxford 29th of Jan. 1643.*

This letter was subscribed by his Highness the Prince, the Duke of York, and three and forty Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons, and one hundred and eighteen members of the House of Commons ; there being such expedition used in the dispatch, that it was not thought fit to be deferred for a greater subscription : albeit it was known that many Lords and Commoners were upon the way, who came within few days ; and there were, at that time, near twenty Peers absent with his Majesty's leave, and employed in his affairs and armies, in the kingdom ; and ten at the same time in the parts beyond the seas. So that the numbers at London were very thin ; for there were not above two and twenty Peers, who either sat in the Parliament, or were engaged in their party ; that is to say, the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bul-lingbrook ; the Lords Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Warke, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Escrick, Roch-  
 fort, and Robarts ; who were present, or had proxies there.

The trumpeter found the Earl of Essex at his house in London ; where he was detained three or four days ; during which time, the committee of both Houses, that committee which they called the Committee of Safety for the two kingdoms, (the Scottish Commissioners being a part of it,) resorted to the Earl for his advice : and in the end, the trumpeter returned with this short letter to the Earl of Forth, the King's General.

“ My Lord,

“ I received this day a letter, of the twenty-ninth of this  
 “ instant, from your Lordship, and a parchment subscribed The Earl of  
 Essex's an-  
 swer di-

BOOK VII. "by the Prince, Duke of York, and divers other lords  
"and gentlemen; but it neither having address to the two

rected to  
the Earl of  
Forth, with  
the two fol-  
lowing De-  
clarations.

" Houses of Parliament, nor therein, there being any ac-  
" knowledgment of them, I could not communicate it to  
" them. My Lord, the maintenance of the Parliament of  
" England, and of the privileges thereof, is that for which  
" we are resolved to spend our blood; as being the found-  
" ation whereupon all our laws and liberties are built. I  
" send your Lordship herewith a national Covenant, so-  
" lemnly entered into by both the kingdoms of England  
" and Scotland; and a Declaration passed by them both  
" together, with another Declaration of the kingdom of  
" Scotland, I rest

" Your Lordship's &c."

What the Covenant was, being the same particularly set down before, I need not mention; and the Declarations are as public, and would be thought too large to be in this place inserted, to the interruption of the thread of this discourse; yet it cannot be amiss to make a short extract of some particular heads or conclusions of them; that the world may see what kind of reasoning this time had introduced, and that they were as bold with God as with the King.

An extract  
of the De-  
claration of  
the king-  
dom of  
Scotland.

That Declaration of the kingdom of Scotland alone, was, to justify their present expedition into England; in which they said, " It was most necessary, that every one, against  
" all doubting, should be persuaded in his mind of the law-  
" fulness of his undertaking, and of the goodness of the  
" cause maintained by him; which they said was no other,  
" than the good of religion in England, and the deliver-  
" ance of their brethren out of the depths of affliction;  
" the preservation of their own religion, and of themselves  
" from the extremity of misery, and the safety of their na-  
" tive King, and his kingdoms, from destruction and deso-  
" lation. Any one of which, (they said,) by all law divine  
" and human, was too just cause of taking of arms; how  
" much more, when all of them were joined in one? And

“therefore, they wished any man, who did withdraw, and  
“hide himself in such a debate and controversy, to con-  
“sider, whether he were not a hater of his brethren,  
“against Christian and common charity; an hater of  
“himself and his posterity, against the law and light of  
“nature; an hater of the King, and his kingdoms, against  
“loyalty, and common duty; and a hater of God, against  
“all religion, and peace.”

They said, “the question was not, nor need they dis-  
“pute, whether they might propagate their religion by  
“arms; but whether, according to their power, they  
“ought to assist their brethren in England, who were  
“calling for their help, and were shedding their blood in  
“defence of that power, without which religion could nei-  
“ther be defended nor reformed; nor unity of religion  
“with them, and other reformed Kirks, be attained. So  
“that, they said, the question was no sooner rightly stated,  
“but it was as soon resolved; and concluded, *that the*  
“*Lord would save them from the curse of Meroz, who came*  
“*not to help the Lord against the mighty.* They said, the  
“question could not be, as their enemies would make it,  
“whether they should enter into England, and lift arms  
“against their own King, who had promised and done as  
“much, as might secure them in their own religion, and  
“liberties: but whether against the popish, prelatical, and  
“malignant party, their adherents prevailing in England  
“and Ireland, they were not bound to provide for their  
“own preservation. That they might well have known,  
“from their continual experience, ever since the time of  
“their first reformation, especially after the two kingdoms  
“were united under one head and monarch, and from the  
“principles of their own declarations, in the time of their  
“late troubles and dangers, that they could not long, like  
“Goshen, enjoy their light, if darkness should cover the  
“face of other reformed Kirks: that Judah could not long  
“continue in liberty, if Israel were led away in captivity;  
“and that the condition of the one Kirk and kingdom,  
“whether in religion or peace, must be common to both.



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“ They said, the question was not, whether they should presume to be arbitrators in the matter, now debated by fire and sword, betwixt his Majesty and the Houses of Parliament; which might seem to be foreign and extrinsical to that nation, and wherein they might be conceived to have no interest; but whether, their mediation and intercession being rejected by the one side, upon hope of victory, or suppose by both sides, upon confidence of their own strength and several successes, it were not their duty, it being in their power, to stop or prevent the effusion of Christian blood; or whether they ought not to endeavour to rescue their native King, his crown, and posterity, out of the midst of so many dangers, and to preserve his people and kingdom from ruin and destruction. If every private man were bound in duty to interpose himself as a reconciler and sequestrator between his neighbours, armed to their mutual destruction; if the son ought to hazard his own life for the preservation of his father and brother, at variance one against the other, should a kingdom sit still, and suffer their King and neighbouring kingdom to perish in an unnatural war? In the time of animosity, and appetite of revenge, such an interposing might be an irritation; but afterwards, when the eyes of the mind, no more blood-run with passion, did discern things right, it would be no grief or offence of heart, but matter of thanksgiving to God, and to the instruments which had kept from shedding blood, and from revenge.”

With this kind of divinity, and this kind of logic, to shew that they had a clear prospect of whatever could be said against them, they resolved to invade their neighbour nation, and to interpose themselves as reconcilers, by joining against their native and natural King, with his rebellious subjects, in all the acts of animosity and blood, which have been ever practised in the most raging and furious civil war.

An extract  
of the De-  
claration of

The other Declaration, mentioned in the Earl's letter, was a Declaration passed, and published in the name of

both kingdoms, England and Scotland, after their marriage by their new League and Covenant, and about the very time that this very overture for peace came from Oxford. They were now both equally inspired with the Scottish dialect and spirit; talked, "how clearly the light of the Gospel shined amongst them; that they placed not their confidence in their own counsels and strength; but their confidence was in God Almighty, the Lord of Hosts, who would not leave nor forsake his people. It was his own truth and cause, which they maintained against the heresy, superstition, and tyranny of Antichrist: the glory of his name, the exaltation of the kingdom of his Son, and the preservation of his Church, was their aim, and the end which they had before their eyes. It was his Covenant, which they had solemnly in both nations sworn, and subscribed; which he would not have put in their hearts to do, if he had been minded to destroy them. Upon these and the like grounds and considerations, being confident that this war, wherein both nations were so firmly united, and deeply engaged, was of God, they resolve with courage and constancy to the end to do their part; and the Lord, who had stirred up their spirits, displayed his banner before them, and given the alarm, do that which seemeth him good."

They gave now "public warning to all men to rest no longer upon their neutrality, or to please themselves with the naughty and slothful pretext of indifferency; but that they address themselves speedily to take the Covenant, and join, with all their power, in the defence of this cause against the common enemy; and by their zeal, and forwardness hereafter, to make up what had been wanting through their lukewarmness; this they would find to be their greatest wisdom and safety; otherwise they did declare them to be public enemies to their religion and country; and that they were to be censured and punished, as professed adversaries, and Malignants."

Then they proclaimed "a pardon to all those who

England  
and Scot-  
land.

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“ would before such a day desert the King, and adhere to them, and take the Covenant;” and concluded, “ that they made not that declaration from any presumption, or vain glorying in the strength of their armies and forces, but from the sense of their duty, which was required and expected from the high places, and public relations, wherein they stood; and from the assurance they had of the assistance of God, by whose providence, the trust and safety of those kingdoms was put into their hands at this time; having, after long and grave consultation, resolved and decreed never to lay down arms, till truth and peace, by the blessing of God, be settled in this island, upon a firm foundation for the present and future generations; which, they said, should be esteemed of them an abundant reward of all that they could do, or suffer in that cause.”

These were the Declarations which the Earl of Essex, together with the Covenant, sent, as an answer to that letter from the Prince of Wales, and those lords and gentlemen; which might have been the foundation of an honest and honourable peace to all the King’s dominions. And I cannot but observe, that after this time that the Earl declined this opportunity of declaring himself, he never did prosperous act in the remainder of his life; but whereas before, he had throughout the course of his command, how unwarrantably soever undertaken, behaved himself with very signal courage and conduct, and at this time was adorned with the testimony of friends and enemies, of a right good General, upon the conclusion of the business of Gloucester; he never, after his taking this Covenant, and writing this letter, did one successful thing; but proved unfortunate in all he went about, even to his death; of which we shall say more in its place.

We the rather extracted these short clauses of those two Declarations, that posterity may observe the divine hand of Almighty God upon the people of these miserable kingdoms; that after they had broken loose from that excellent form and practice of religion, which their ancestors and



themselves had observed and enjoyed, with a greater measure of happiness, than almost any nation lived under, so long a time; and after they had cancelled and thrown off those admirable and incomparable laws of government, which was compounded of so much exact reason, that all possible mischiefs were foreseen, and provided against by it; they should be now captivated by a profane and presumptuous entitling themselves to God's favour, and using his holy name in that manner, that all sober Christians must stand scandalized, and amazed at; and should be deluded by such a kind of reasoning and debate, as, one would think, could only impose upon men unnurtured, and unacquainted with any knowledge or science.

There wanted not a just indignation at the return of this trumpet; and yet the answer being so much in that popular road, of saying something plausibly to the people, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at least the world might see, that they did, in plain English, refuse to admit of any peace. So the Earl of Forth was advised to write again to the other General, for a safe conduct for two gentlemen then named, against whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from Westminster, to be sent by his Majesty concerning a treaty of peace. To this the Earl of Essex returned answer, "that whensoever he should receive any directions to those who had intrusted him, he should use his best endeavours; and when a safe conduct should be desired for those gentlemen, mentioned in his letter, from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament, his Lordship would, with all cheerfulness, shew his willingness to farther any way that might produce that happiness, which all honest men prayed for; which is a true understanding between his Majesty, and his faithful and only council, the Parliament."

This expression of his resolution of interposing, if he had a letter from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament, (together with some intimation in letters from London, which at these seasons never wanted,) persuaded many, that the Earl wanted only an opportunity to possess

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the Houses with the overture, and if it were once within the walls, there were so many well affected to peace, that the proposition would not be rejected; though no particular person, or combination of men, had the courage, of themselves, to propose it. And therefore at the same time, making all possible preparations for the field, as the scene where the differences were like to be decided, his Majesty was prevailed with, though he concluded it would be rejected, to send this ensuing message, which was inclosed to the Earl of Essex, to be by him managed.

The King's  
message to  
both  
Houses.

“ Out of our most tender and pious sense of the sad  
“ and bleeding condition of this our kingdom, and our  
“ unwearied desires to apply all remedies, which, by the  
“ blessing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter  
“ ruin, by the advice of the Lords and Commons of Par-  
“ liament, assembled at Oxford, we do propound, and de-  
“ sire, that a convenient number of fit persons may be ap-  
“ pointed, and authorized by you, to meet, with all conve-  
“ nient speed, at such place as you shall nominate, with  
“ an equal number of fit persons whom we shall appoint,  
“ and authorize to treat of the ways and means to settle  
“ the present distractions of this our kingdom, and to  
“ procure a happy peace: and particularly, how all the  
“ members of both Houses may securely meet in a full  
“ and free convention of Parliament, there to treat, con-  
“ sult, and agree upon such things, as may conduce to the  
“ maintenance and defence of the true reformed Protestant  
“ religion, with due consideration to all just and reason-  
“ able ease of tender consciences; to the settling and  
“ maintaining of our just rights and privileges, of the  
“ rights and privileges of Parliament, the laws of the land,  
“ the liberty and property of the subject, and all other ex-  
“ pedients, that may conduce to that blessed end of a firm  
“ and lasting peace both in Church and State, and a per-  
“ fect understanding betwixt us and our people: wherein  
“ no endeavours or concurrence of ours shall be wanting:  
“ and God direct your hearts in the way of peace.

“ *Given at our Court at Oxford, 3d March 1643.*”

This message being signed by his Majesty, was subscribed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster; which, though it was a style they could not reasonably except against, was yet no other than the Lords and Commons at Oxford took upon themselves, as they well might. After two or three debates in the Houses, and with the Scottish commissioners, without whose concurrence nothing was transacted, this answer was returned to his Majesty; which put a period to all men's hopes, who imagined that there might be any disposition in those councils to any possible and honest accommodation.

“ May it please your Majesty :

“ We the Lords and Commons assembled in the Par-  
 “ liament of England, taking into our consideration a let-  
 “ ter sent from your Majesty, dated the 3d of March  
 “ instant, and directed to the Lords and Commons of Par-  
 “ liament assembled at Westminster, (which, by the con-  
 “ tents of a letter from the Earl of Forth unto the Lord  
 “ General the Earl of Essex, we conceive was intended to  
 “ ourselves,) have resolved with the concurrent advice and  
 “ consent of the commissioners of the kingdom of Scot-  
 “ land, to represent to your Majesty, in all humility and  
 “ plainness, as followeth : That as we have used all means  
 “ for a just and safe peace, so will we never be wanting to  
 “ do our utmost for the procuring thereof; but when we  
 “ consider the expressions in that letter of your Majesty's,  
 “ we have more sad and despairing thoughts of attaining  
 “ the same than ever, because thereby, those persons now  
 “ assembled at Oxford, who, contrary to their duty, have  
 “ deserted your Parliament, are put into an equal con-  
 “ dition with it. And this present Parliament, convened  
 “ according to known and fundamental laws of the king-  
 “ dom, (the continuance whereof is established by a law  
 “ consented to by your Majesty,) is in effect denied to  
 “ be a Parliament; the scope and intention of that letter

The two  
Houses'  
answer.



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“ being to make provision how all the members, as is pretended, of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free convention of Parliament; whereof no other conclusion can be made, but that this present Parliament is not a full, nor free convention; and that to make it a full and free convention of Parliament, the presence of those is necessary, who, notwithstanding that they have deserted that great trust, and do levy war against the Parliament, are pretended to be members of the two Houses of Parliament.

“ And hereupon we think ourselves bound to let your Majesty know, that seeing the continuance of this Parliament is settled by a law, which (as all other laws of your kingdom) your Majesty hath sworn to maintain, as we are sworn to our allegiance to your Majesty, (these obligations being reciprocal,) we must in duty, and accordingly are resolved, with our lives and fortunes, to defend and preserve the just rights and full power of this Parliament; and do beseech your Majesty to be assured, that your Majesty's royal and hearty concurrence with us herein will be the most effectual and ready means of procuring a firm and lasting peace in all your Majesty's dominions, and begetting a perfect understanding between your Majesty and your people: without which, your Majesty's most earnest professions, and our most real intentions concerning the same, must necessarily be frustrated. And in case your Majesty's three kingdoms should, by reason thereof, remain in this sad and bleeding condition, tending, by the continuance of this unnatural war, to their ruin, your Majesty cannot be the least nor the last sufferer. God in his goodness incline your royal breast, out of pity and compassion to those deep sufferings of your innocent people, to put a speedy and happy issue to these desperate evils, by the joint advice of both your kingdoms, now happily united in this cause by their late solemn League and Covenant; which as it will prove the surest remedy, so it is the

“ earnest prayer of your Majesty’s loving subjects, the BOOK  
 “ Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of VII.  
 “ England.

“ *Grey of Warke,*

“ *Speaker of the House of Peers in Parliament pro tempore :*

“ *William Lenthall,*

“ *Speaker of the House of Commons in Parliament.*

“ *Westminster, the 9th of Mar. 1643.*”

The hope of peace, by this kind of interposition, did not in any degree make the counsels remiss for the providing of money to supply the army : upon which they had more hope than from a treaty. But the expedients for money were not easily thought on ; though there was a considerable part of the kingdom within the King’s quarters, the inhabitants were frequently robbed and plundered by the incursions of the enemy, and not very well secured against the royal troops, who begun to practise all the licence of war. The nobility and gentry, who were not officers of the army, lived for the most part in Oxford ; and all that they could draw from their estates, was but enough for their own subsistence ; they durst not enter upon charging the people in general, lest they should be thought to take upon them to be a Parliament ; and their care was, that the common people might be preserved from burdens ; and they were as careful not to expose the King’s honour, or name, to affronts and refusals ; but were willing that the envy and clamour, if there should be any, should fall upon themselves.

They appointed all the members of the Commons, “ to  
 “ bring in the names of all the gentlemen of estate, and  
 “ other persons who were reputed to be rich, within their  
 “ several precincts ; and what sum of money every body  
 “ might be well able to supply the King with, in this exigent of the public state.” And then a form of a letter was conceived, which should be sent to every one of them, for such a sum ; “ the letter to be subscribed by the two  
 “ Speakers of the Houses, to the end that the people

Means  
 agreed  
 upon by  
 the Lords  
 and Commons at  
 Oxford  
 to raise  
 money.

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“ might know, that it was by the advice of the members of Parliament assembled there ; which was as much the advice of Parliament, as could be delivered at that time in the kingdom.” When the way and method of this was approved by the Lords, and his Majesty likewise consented to it ; they begun, the better to encourage others, with themselves ; and caused letters to be signed and delivered to the several members of both Houses, “ for such sums as they were well disposed to furnish ;” which were to that proportion as gave good encouragement to others ; and the like letters to all persons of condition who were in the town. And by this means, there was a sum raised in ready money, and credit, that did supply many necessary occasions, near the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, whereof some came in every day, to enable the King to provide for the next campaign ; which, the spring coming on, was to be expected early ; the Parliament at Westminster having raised vast sums of money, and being like to bring many armies into the field. All, who were to furnish money upon these letters, had liberty to bring, or send it in plate, if that was for their convenience ; the King having called the officers and workmen of his Mint to Oxford, who coined such plate as was brought in ; his Majesty likewise made a grant of some forests, parks, and other lands, to certain persons in trust, for the securing of such money as should be borrowed, or those persons who should be bound for the payment of such money ; and by this means likewise many considerable sums of money were procured, and cloth, and shoes, and shirts, were provided for the army.

The two Houses at Westminster, who called themselves, and they are often called in this discourse, the Parliament, had at this time by an ordinance, that is an order of both Houses, laid an imposition, which they called an excise, upon wine, beer, ale, and many other commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically set down by them, for the carrying on the war. This was the first time that ever the name of payment of excise was

The two  
Houses at  
Westminster  
impose  
an excise.



heard of or practised in England; laid on by those who pretended to be most jealous of any exaction upon the people: and this pattern being then printed, and published at London, was thought by the members at Oxford, as a good expedient to be followed by the King; and thereupon it was settled, and to be governed and regulated by commissioners, in the same method it was done at London. And in Oxford, Bristol, and other garrisons, it did yield a reasonable supply for the provision of arms and ammunition; which, for the most part, it was assigned to; both sides making ample declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the necessity that drew on this imposition, "that it should be continued no longer than to the end of the war, and then laid down, and utterly abolished;" which few wise men believed it would ever be.

The two Houses at Oxford follow the example.

The high and insolent proceedings at Westminster made no impression at Oxford towards the shaking the allegiance and courage of those, whom his Majesty had called to advise him. But when they found the temper of the other so much, above belief, averse to peace, and intending utter ruin to the King, the Church, and all who should continue true Englishmen and subjects, they resolved as frankly to declare their resolutions, that the people might see the issue they were at; and therefore they published a Declaration of the grounds and motives which had forced them to leave the Parliament at Westminster; in which they mentioned "all the indirect passages, and the acts of violence, by which they had been driven thence; and the obligations upon them in conscience, and law, to adhere to his Majesty; and the misery which the other party had already brought upon the kingdom, and the desolation which must inevitably follow those conclusions; and with a greater unanimity and consent, than was ever known in so great a council, where there were so many persons of honour, and judges, and others learned in the law, among whom there was scarce one dissenting voice, they declared,

The substance of the Declaration of the Lords and Commons at Oxford.

1. "That all such subjects of Scotland, as had consented

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“ to the Declaration, entitled the Declaration of the kingdom of Scotland concerning the present expedition into England, had thereby denounced war against the kingdom of England, and broke the act of Pacification.

2. “ That all his Majesty’s subjects of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales are both by their allegiance, and the act of Pacification, bound to resist and repress all those of Scotland as had, or should enter upon any part of his Majesty’s realm and dominions, as traitors, and enemies to the state; and that whosoever should abet, aid, or assist the Scots in their invasion, should be deemed as traitors, and enemies to the state.

3. “ That the Lords and Commons remaining at Westminster, that had given their votes, or consent, to the raising of forces under the command of the Earl of Essex, or had been abetting, aiding, or assisting thereunto, had levied and raised war against the King, and were therein guilty of high treason.

4. “ That those Lords and Commons remaining at Westminster, that had given their votes and consents for the making and using a new Great Seal, had thereby counterfeited the King’s Great Seal, and therein committed high treason.

5. “ That the Lords and Commons remaining at Westminster, who had given their consents to the present coming in of the Scots in a warlike manner, had therein committed high treason: and that in these three last crimes, they had broken the trust reposed in them by their country, and ought to be proceeded against as traitors to the King and kingdom.”

So that the engagements seemed fuller of animosity on both sides than ever; and the King exceedingly strengthened by the Lords and Commons having more positively and concernedly wedded his cause, than they were before understood to have done; and in truth, in the civil counsels, nothing was left undone to give it all imaginable advancement.

It had been very happy for the King, if the winter had

been spent only in those counsels which might have provided money, and facilitated the making his army ready to take the field in the spring; when he was sure to have occasion enough to use it; and to be in great distress, if it should not be then in a condition to march: but the invasion, which the Scots made in the depth of winter, and the courage the enemy took from thence, deprived his Majesty even of any rest in that season. Upon the Scots' unexpected march into England in January, in a most violent frost and snow, hoping to reach Newcastle before it could be fortified, and persuading their common soldiers, that it would be delivered to them as soon as required; thither the vigilant Sir Thomas Glemham had been before sent to attend their coming; and the Marquis of Newcastle with his army, upon the fame of their invasion, marched thither with a resolution to fight with them before they should be able to join with the English rebels; leaving in the mean time the command of York, and the forces for the guard of that county, to Colonel John Bellasis, son to the Lord Falconbridge, a person of great interest in the country, and of exemplary industry and courage. But by this means, and the remove of the Marquis with his army so far north, the enemy grew to a great strength in those parts; and not only able to disquiet Yorkshire, but drawing a great body of horse and foot out of Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Lincolnshire, sat down before his Majesty's garrison of Newark upon Trent, with a full confidence to take it, and so to cut off all correspondence between his Majesty and the Marquis of Newcastle. And Sir Thomas Fairfax from Hull, in the head of a strong party, had fallen upon a quarter not far from York, commanded by Colonel John Bellasis at Selby, and had totally defeated it, taken the cannon, and many officers prisoners, and amongst those the Colonel himself. This was the first action for which Sir Thomas Fairfax was taken notice of; who in a short time grew the supreme General under the Parliament. This defeat, which was great in itself, was made much greater by the terrible apprehensions the city of York had

The Mar-  
quis of  
Newcastle  
marches to  
oppose the  
Scots.

Sir Thomas  
Fairfax de-  
feats and  
takes Colo-  
nel Bellasis  
at Selby :



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Whereupon  
the Mar-  
quis of  
Newcastle  
retires to  
York.

The Mar-  
quis of Or-  
mond made  
Lord Lieu-  
tenant of  
Ireland,  
sends the  
King as-  
sistance.

upon it; insomuch that the Marquis of Newcastle, who till then had kept the Scots at a bay, found it necessary to withdraw his army, and with great part of it to make haste into York, to prevent any farther mischief there; by which means the Scots were at liberty to advance as they pleased; and Fairfax improved his reputation by a speedy and unlooked for march into Cheshire.

Upon the cessation in Ireland, the King made the Marquis of Ormond his Lieutenant of that kingdom; and appointed him to make use of the winter season (when the Parliament ships could not attend that coast) to transport those regiments of foot which might be well spared during the cessation, and which could not be supported there, to Chester; from whence his Majesty could easily draw them in the spring to Oxford; and were, in truth, the principal recruit, upon which he depended to enable him to take the field. The Lord Byron then commanded Chester, and that county; and was appointed to take care for the reception and accommodation of those troops; which was a right good body of foot, and being excellent men, both officers and soldiers, carried great terror with them from the time of their landing; and quickly freed North Wales from the enemy; who at that time begun to have great power there. It was towards the end of November when they landed, and being a people who had been used to little ease in Ireland, the King having given the Lord Byron leave to employ them in such services as might secure that country, the season of the year made little impression on them; they were always ready, and desirous of action; and in the space of a month reduced, by assault and storm, many places of notable importance, as Howarden-Castle, Beeston-Castle, Crew-House, and other places of strength; and encountering the whole body of the rebels, at Middlewich in Cheshire, broke and defeated them with great slaughter; and drove all that survived, and were at liberty, into Nantwich; the single garrison they had then left in Cheshire: into which the whole party was retired, and which had been fortified and garrisoned from the beginning

of the troubles, as the only refuge for the disaffected in that county, and the counties adjacent. The pride of the late success, and the terror the soldiers believed their names carried with them, carried them at this most unseasonable time of the year thither; for it was about the first week in January when the Lord Byron came with his army before the town, and summoned it. It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unspeakable importance to the King's affairs, there being, between that and Carlisle, no one town of moment (Manchester only excepted) which declared against the King; and those two populous counties of Chester and Lancashire, if they had been united against the Parliament, would have been a strong bulwark against the Scots.

These considerations; and an opinion that the town would yield as soon as summoned, brought the army first thither; and then a passionate desire of honour, and contempt of the enemy within, or of any other who could undertake their relief, engaged them to a farther attempt; and so they raised batteries, and undertook a formal siege against the town. The seventeenth day of January they made a general assault upon five several quarters of the town, somewhat before day-break, but were with equal courage opposed from within, and near three hundred men lost, or wounded in the service; which should have prevailed with them to have quitted their design. But those repulses sharpen rather than abate the edge and appetite to danger; and the assailants, no less than the besieged, desiring an army would come for their relief, both with equal impatience longed for the same thing; the Irish (for under that name, for distinction sake, we call that body of foot, though there was not an Irishman amongst them) supposing themselves superior to any that would encounter them in the field, and the horse being such as might as reasonably undervalue those who were to oppose them.

In this their confidence, supply came too soon to the town, and confusion to the King's forces: for Sir Thomas

The Irish  
forces  
routed by

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Sir Thomas  
Fairfax at  
Nantwich.

Fairfax, upon his victory at Selby, brought out of Yorkshire a good body of horse to Manchester; and, out of that place, and the neighbour places, drew near three thousand foot, with which joining with Sir William Bruerton, and some other scattered forces from Staffordshire and Derby, who had been routed at Middlewich, he advanced near Nantwich, before he was looked for; the Irish being so over-confident that he would not presume to attack them, that, though they had advertisement of their motion, they still believed that his utmost design was by alarms to force them to rise from the town, and then to retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their posts too long; and when they found it necessary to draw off, a little river, which divided their forces, on a sudden thaw, so much swelled above its banks, that the Lord Byron, with the greatest part of the horse, and the foot which lay on one side of the town, were severed from the rest, and compelled to march four or five miles before he could join with the other; before which time the other part, being charged by Sir Thomas Fairfax on the one side, and from the town on the other, were broken; and all the chief officers forced to retire to a church called Acton church, where they were caught as in a trap, and, the horse, by reason of the deep ways with the sudden thaw, and narrow lanes, and great hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themselves prisoners to those whom they so much despised two hours before. There were taken, besides all the chief and considerable officers of foot, near fifteen hundred soldiers, and all their cannon and carriages: the Lord Byron with his horse, and the rest of his foot, retiring to Chester. There cannot be given a better, or it may be another reason for this defeat, besides the providence of God, which was the effect of the other, than the extreme contempt and disdain this body had of the enemy; and the presumption in their own strength, courage, and conduct; which made them not enough think, and rely upon him who alone disposes of the event of battles: though it must be acknowledged,



most of the officers were persons of signal virtue and sobriety; and, in their own natures, of great modesty and piety; so hard it is to suppress those motions, which success, valour, and even the conscience of the cause, is apt to produce in men not overmuch inclined to presumption.

There was another result of council at Oxford, in this winter season, which deserves to be mentioned; and the rather, because all the inducements thereunto were not generally understood, nor known to many; and therefore grew afterwards to be the more censured. When the Scots were visibly armed, and upon their march into England, which the King was the last man in believing; and when there was no way to stop or divert them, his Majesty was the better inclined to hearken to some men of that nation, who had been long proposing a way to give them so much trouble at home, that they should not be at leisure to infest or trouble their neighbours; to which propositions less care had been given, out of too much confidence in persons, upon whose integrity or interest there had been too great a dependence. The Earl of Mountrose, a young man of a great spirit, and of the most ancient nobility, had been one of the most principal and active Covenanters in the beginning of the troubles; but soon after, upon his observation of the unwarrantable prosecution of it, he gave over that party, and his command in that army; and at the King's being in Scotland, after the pacification, had made full tender of his service to his Majesty; and was so much in the jealousy and detestation of the violent party, whereof the Earl of Argyle was the head, that there was no cause or room left to doubt his sincerity to the King.

The Earl of Mountrose comes to the King, and informs him of the state of Scotland.

Upon the beginning of the Parliament at Edinburgh, and the manifestation that Duke Hamilton would give no opposition to the proceedings thereof, (as hath been mentioned before,) the Earl privately withdrew out of Scotland, and came to the King few days before the siege was raised from Gloucester, and gave his Majesty the first clear information of the carriage and behaviour of Duke Ha-

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milton, and of the posture that kingdom would speedily be in, and of the resolutions that would be there taken; and made some smart propositions to the King for the remedy; which there was not then time to consult: but as soon as the King retired to Oxford, after the battle of Newbury, and had had fuller intelligence, by the resort of others of that nobility who deserved to be trusted, how the affairs stood in Scotland; and heard that Duke Hamilton, and his brother, the Earl of Lanrick, were upon their way as far as York towards Oxford; his Majesty was very willing to hearken to the Earl of Mountrose, and the rest, what could be done to prevent that mischief that was like to ensue. But they all unanimously declared, “that they durst make no propositions for the advancement of the King’s service, except they might be first assured, that no part of it should be communicated to Duke Hamilton; nor he suffered to have any part or share in any action that should depend upon it; for they were most assured that he had always betrayed his Majesty; and that it had been absolutely in his power to have prevented this new combination, if he would resolutely have opposed it. But if they might be secure in that particular, they would make some such attempt under his Majesty’s commission in their own country, as might possibly make some disturbance there.” His Majesty thought he had much less reason to be confident of the Duke than formerly; for he had expressly failed of doing somewhat which he had promised to do; yet he thought he had not ground enough to withdraw all kind of trust from him, except he did, at the same time, secure him from being able to do him farther mischief; towards which kind of severity, he did not think he had evidence enough. Besides he had a very good opinion of the Earl of Lanrick, as a man of much more plainness and sincerity than his brother; as in truth he was. That he might bring himself to a full resolution in this important affair, his Majesty appointed the Lord Keeper, his two Secretaries, the Master of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Exche-

quer, to examine the Earl of Mountrose, the Earl of Kin-noul, the Lord Ogilby, and some others, upon oath, of all things they could accuse Duke Hamilton, or his brother Lanrick of; and to take their examinations in writing; that so his Majesty might discover, whether their errors proceeded from infidelity, and consider the better, what course to observe in his proceedings with them; and this was carried with as much secrecy, as an affair of that nature could be, wherein so many were trusted.

Upon their examination, there appeared too much cause to conclude, that the Duke had not behaved himself with that loyalty, as he ought to have done. The Earl of Mountrose, whilst he had been of that party, had been privy to much of his correspondence and intelligence. But most of the particulars related to the time when he commanded the fleet in the Frith, and when he had many conferences with his mother, (who was a woman most passionate in those contrivances,) and with others of that party; and when he did nothing to hurt or incommode the enemy; all which was expressly pardoned by the act of oblivion, which had been passed with all formality and solemnity by the King in the Parliament of both kingdoms: and, so much as to question what was so forgot, might raise a greater fire, than that which they desired to quench; though the knowing so many particulars might be a good and proper caution. In the late transactions of Scotland, it was manifest that the Duke had absolutely opposed all overtures of force, and of seizing those persons who could only be able to raise new troubles; which had been very easy to have done; and that he had betrayed the King, and all the Lords, in consenting to the meeting of the Parliament, called and summoned against the King's express pleasure and command, and without any pretence of law. And to this, the King's approbation and consent had been shewed to them, by the Duke, under the King's own hand; which they durst not disobey, though they foresaw the mischief.

The case was thus; the Duke had given the King an



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account, after he had himself promised him that the Parliament should never be assembled, (which his Majesty abhorred,) “that though some few hot and passionate men desired to put themselves in arms, to stop both elections of the members, and any meeting together in Parliament; yet, that all sober men who could bear any considerable part in the action, were clearly of the opinion, to take as much pains as they could to cause good elections to be made, and then to appear themselves; and that they had hope to have such a major part, that they might more advantageously dissolve the meeting as soon as they came together, than prevent it; however, that then would be the fit time to protest against it, and immediately to put themselves into arms, for which they would be well provided at the same time;” and to this he desired the King’s positive direction. And his Majesty, in answer to it, had said, “since it was the opinion of all his friends, he would not command them to do that which was against their judgment; but would attend the success; and was content that they should all appear in the Parliament at its first meeting:” and the Duke had shewed the Lords those words in the King’s letter, with which they acquiesced, without knowing any thing of the ground of such his permission: whereas, in truth, there was no one person who was of that opinion, or had given that counsel, but had still detested the expedient when proposed.

Then the Duke’s carriage in the Parliament, and his brother’s, at their first coming together, appeared to be as is set down before, by the testimony of those who were present; and the Earl of Lanrick’s applying the signet to the proclamation for that rendezvous where the army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuse; and so the clear state of the evidence, upon the depositions of the persons examined, was presented to the King for his own determination. His Majesty had some thoughts of sending to the Marquis of Newcastle to stop the Duke and his brother at York, and not suffer them to come nearer;

but whilst that was in deliberation, they both came to Oxford, and meant the same night to have kissed their Majesties' hands; but as soon as they arrived, they received a command from the King, "to keep their chambers;" and had a guard attended them. The King resolved to consult the whole affair then with the Council Board, whereas hitherto the examinations had been taken by a committee, to the end that he might resolve what way to proceed; and to that purpose directed that a transcript might be prepared, of all the examinations at large; and that the witnesses might be ready to appear before the Board, if it should be thought necessary; his Majesty at that time inclining to have both the Lords present, and the depositions read, and the witnesses confronted before them. But whilst this was preparing, the second morning after their coming to the town, the Earl of Lanrick, either having corrupted or deluded the guard, found a means to escape; and by the assistance of one Cunningham (a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and of that nation) had horses ready; with which the Earl and his friend fled, and went directly to London; where he was very well received. Hereupon the King informed the Board of the whole affair; and because one of them was escaped, and the matters against the other having been transacted in Scotland, and so, in many respects, it was not a season to proceed judicially against him, it was thought enough for the present to prevent his doing farther mischief, by putting him under a secure restraint: and so he was sent in custody to the castle at Bristol, and from thence to Exeter, and so to the castle at Pendennis in Cornwall; where we shall at the present leave him.

Duke Hamilton made prisoner at Oxford.

About this time the councils at Westminster lost a principal supporter, by the death of Jo. Pym; who died with great torment and agony of a disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *morbis pediculosus*, as was reported; which rendered him an object very loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No man had more to

Mr. Pym's death.

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answer for the miseries of the kingdom, or had his hand, or head, deeper in their contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher even in his life, than he designed. He was a man of a private quality and condition of life; his education in the office of the Exchequer, where he had been a clerk; and his parts rather acquired by industry, than supplied by nature, or adorned by art. He had been well known in former Parliaments; and was one of those few, who had sat in many; the long intermission of Parliaments having worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the rules and orders observed in those conventions. This gave him some reputation and reverence amongst those who were but now introduced.

He had been most taken notice of, for being concerned and passionate in the jealousies of religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to those opinions that had been imputed to Arminius; and this gave him great authority and interest with those who were not pleased with the government of the Church, or the growing power of the Clergy: yet himself industriously took care to be believed, and he professed to be very entire to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. In the short Parliament before this, he spoke much, and appeared to be the most leading man; for besides the exact knowledge of the former, and orders of that council, which few men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural and proper; and understood the temper and affections of the kingdom as well as any man; and had observed the errors and mistakes in government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy dissolution of that Parliament, he continued for the most part about London, in conversation and great repute amongst those Lords who were most strangers to the Court, and were believed most averse to it; in whom he improved all imaginable jealousies and discontents towards the state; and as soon as this Parliament was resolved to be sum-



moned, he was as diligent to procure such persons to be elected as he knew to be most inclined to the way he meant to take.

At the first opening of this Parliament, he appeared passionate and prepared against the Earl of Strafford; and though in private designing he was much governed by Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Saint-John, yet he seemed to all men to have the greatest influence upon the House of Commons of any man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and some months after, the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the first design of softening and obliging the powerful persons in both Houses, when it was resolved to make the Earl of Bedford Lord High Treasurer of England, the King likewise intended to make Mr. Pym Chancellor of the Exchequer; for which he received his Majesty's promise, and made a return of a suitable profession of his service and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no secret; somewhat declined from that sharpness in the House, which was more popular than any man's, and made some overtures to provide for the glory and splendour of the Crown; in which he had so ill success, that his interest and reputation there visibly abated; and he found that he was much better able to do hurt than good; which wrought very much upon him to melancholy, and complaint of the violence and discomposure of the people's affections and inclinations. In the end, whether upon the death of the Earl of Bedford he despaired of that preferment, or whether he was guilty of any thing, which, upon his conversion to the Court, he thought might be discovered to his damage, or for pure want of courage, he suffered himself to be carried by those who would not follow him, and so continued in the head of those who made the most desperate propositions.

In the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford, his carriage and language was such as expressed much personal animosity; and he was accused of having practised some arts in it not worthy a good man; as an Irishman of very mean

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and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an evidence of one part of the charge against the Lord Lieutenant, in a particular of which a person of so vile quality would not be reasonably thought a competent informer; Mr. Pym gave him money to buy him a sattin suit and cloak; in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence; which, if true, may make many other things, which were confidently reported afterwards of him, to be believed; as that he received a great sum of money from the French ambassador, (which hath been before mentioned,) to hinder the transportation of those regiments of Ireland into Flanders, upon the disbanding that army there; which had been prepared by the Earl of Strafford for the business of Scotland; in which if his Majesty's directions and commands had not been diverted and contradicted by the Houses, many do believe the rebellion in Ireland had not happened.

Certain it is, that his power of doing shrewd turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good offices for particular persons; and that he did preserve many from censure, who were under the severe displeasure of the Houses, and looked upon as eminent delinquents; and the quality of many of them made it believed, that he had sold that protection for valuable considerations. From the time of his being accused of high treason by the King, with the Lord Kimbolton, and the other members, he never entertained thoughts of moderation, but always opposed all overtures of peace and accommodation; and when the Earl of Essex was disposed, the last summer, by those Lords to an inclination towards a treaty, as is before remembered, Mr. Pym's power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards swerved not from. He was wonderfully solicitous for the Scots coming in to their assistance, though his indisposition of body was so great, that it might well have made another impression upon his mind. During his sickness, he was a very sad spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurred with him, it is not



known what his last thoughts and considerations were. He died towards the end of December, before the Scots entered; and was buried with wonderful pomp and magnificence, in that place where the bones of our English Kings and Princes are committed to their rest.

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The arrival of the Prince Elector at London was no less the discourse of all tongues, than the death of Mr. Pym. He had been in England before the troubles, and was received and cherished by the King with great demonstration of grace and kindness, and supplied with a pension of twelve thousand pounds sterling yearly. When the King left London, he attended his Majesty to York, and resided there with him till the differences grew so high, that his Majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an army for his defence. Then, on the sudden, without giving the King many days' notice of his resolution, that Prince left the Court; and taking the opportunity of an ordinary vessel, embarked himself for Holland, to the wonder of all men; who thought it an unseasonable declaration of his fear at least of the Parliament, and his desire of being well esteemed by them, when it was evident they esteemed not the King as they should. And this was the more spoken of, when it was afterwards known that the Parliament expressed a good sense of his having deserted the King, and imputed it to his conscience, "that he knew of some such designs of his Majesty, as he could not comply with." At this time, after many loud discourses of his coming, (which were derived to Oxford, as somewhat that might have an influence upon his Majesty's counsels, there being then several whispers of some high proceedings they intended against the King,) he arrived at London, and was received with ceremony; lodged in Whitehall, and order taken for the payment of that pension which had been formerly assigned to him by his Majesty; and a particular direction by both Houses, "that he should be admitted to sit in the assembly of Divines;" where, after he had taken the Covenant, he was contented to be often present: of all which the King took no other notice, than some-

The Prince  
Elector ar-  
rives at  
London.



BOOK times to express, "that he was sorry on his Nephew's be-  
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The defeat of Colonel John Bellasis at Selby by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the destruction of all the Irish regiments under the Lord Byron, together with the terror of the Scottish army, had so let loose all the King's enemies in the northern parts, which were lately at the King's devotion, that his friends were in great distress in all places before the season was ripe to take the field. The Earl of Derby, who had kept Lancashire in reasonable subjection, and inclosed all the enemies of that county within the town of Manchester, was no longer able to continue that restraint, but forced to place himself at a farther distance from them; which was like, in a short time, to increase the number of the rebels there. Newark, a very necessary garrison in the county of Nottingham, which had not only subjected that little county, the town of Nottingham only excepted, which was upon the matter confined within its own walls, but had kept a great part of the large county of Lincoln under contribution, was now reduced to so great straits by the forces of that country, under the command of Meldrum a Scotchman, with addition of others from Hull, that they were compelled to beg relief from the King at Oxford; whilst the Marquis of Newcastle had enough to do to keep the Scots at a bay, and to put York in a condition to endure a siege, if he should be forced to continue within those walls.

In these straits, though it was yet the depth of winter, and to provide the better for the security of Shrewsbury, and Chester, and North Wales, all which were terrified with the defeat of the Lord Byron, the King found it necessary to send Prince Rupert, with a good body of chosen horse, and dragoons, and some foot, with direction, after he had visited Shrewsbury and Chester, and used all possible endeavours to make new levies, that he should attempt the relief of Newark: which, being lost, would cut off all possible communication between Oxford and

Prince Rupert is sent to relieve Newark, and effects it.

York. In Newark, the garrison consisted most of the gentry of the county, and the inhabitants, ill supplied with any thing requisite to a siege, but courage and excellent affections. The enemy intrenched themselves before the town, and proceeded by approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it possible to be disturbed: and indeed it was not easy for the King to find a way for their relief. To send a body from Oxford was very hazardous, and the enemy so strong, as they would quickly follow; so that there was no hope but from Shrewsbury and Chester, where Prince Rupert had given so much life to those parts, and drawn so considerable a body together, that the enemy found little advantage by their late victory, in the enlargement of their quarters. His Highness then resolved to try what he could do for Newark, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby performed it. For the enemy, who had always excellent intelligence, was so confident that he had not a strength sufficient to attempt that work, that he was within six miles of them, before they believed he thought of them; and charging and routing some of their horse, pursued them with that expedition, that he besieged them in their own intrenchment, with his horse, before his foot came within four miles. In that consternation, they concluding that he must have a vast power and strength, to bring them into those straits, he, with a number inferior to the enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to disband, without their arms, or any carriage or baggage. Thus he relieved Newark, and took above four thousand arms, eleven pieces of brass cannon, two mortar pieces, and above fifty barrels of powder; which was as unexpected a victory, as any happened throughout the war; with this prosperous action, which was performed on the 22d of March, we shall conclude the transactions of this year.

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